A

JOURNAL

Of the TRANSACTIONS and OCCURRENCES in the ſettlement of Maſſachuſetts and the other New-England Colonies, from the year 1630 to 1644:

WRITTEN BY

JOHN WINTHROP, Eſq.

First Governor of Maſſachuſetts:

And now firſt publiſhed from a correct copy of the original Manuſcript.

Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen, rerum geſtarum memoriæ, ipſum conſuluiſſe. Tit. Liv. Pref.

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TO THE POSTERITY

OF

JOHN WINTHROP, Eſq.

The *founder* of the *Maſſachuſetts Colony*, and for many years, the *father* and the *Governor* of that infant Settlement,

The following JOURNAL, written by their ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTOR, is reſpectfully inſcribed by their

Moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

THE EDITOR.

Hartford, July 1790.

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE following Journal was written by JOHN WINTHROP, Eſq. the firſt Governor of Maſſachuſetts. This diſtinguiſhed gentleman was born at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587. His Grandfather was an eminent lawyer, in the reign of Henry VIII, and attached to the reformation. His father was of the ſame profeſſion, and the Governor himſelf was bred a lawyer, in which character he was eminent both for integrity and abilities. Indeed he muſt have had the faireſt reputation; for he was appointed a Juſtice of Peace at eighteen years of age.

When the deſign of ſettling a colony in New-England was undertaken, Mr. Winthrop was choſen with general conſent, to conduct the enterprize. His eſtate, amounting to the value of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds ſterling a year, he converted into money, and embarked for America, in the forty third year of his age. He arrived at Salem, with the Maſſachuſetts charter, June 12, 1630. He was many years Governor of that infant colony, and conducted himſelf with ſuch addreſs and unſhaken rectitude as to render his character univerſally reſpectable among his cotemporaries, and his memory, dear to poſterity. He died, March 26, 1649.

Mr. Winthrop kept a Journal of every important occurrence, from his firſt embarking for America, in 1630, to the year 1644. This Manuſcript, as appears by ſome paſſages, was originally deſigned for publication; and it was formerly conſulted by the firſt compilers of New-England hiſtory particularly by HUBBARD, MATHER and PRINCE. But it continued, unpubliſhed and uncopied, in poſſeſſion of the elder branch of the family, till the late revolution, when Governor TRUMBULL of Connecticut procured it, and, with the aſſiſtance of his Secretary, copied a conſiderable part of it. Soon after the Governor's death, a gentleman, who has a taſte for examining curious original papers, which reſpect his own country, came, by accident, to a knowledge of this manuſcript; and with conſent of the Governor's heirs, contracted for a copy, merely for his own improvement and amuſement. On reading the work, he found it to contain many curious and intereſting facts, relating to the ſettlement of Maſſachuſetts and the other New-England colonies, and highly deſcriptive of the character and views of the firſt inhabitants. This ſuggeſted to him the deſign of publiſhing the Journal *complete*; as any abridgement of it would tend to weaken its hiſtorical evidence, and put in the power of captious critics to impeach its authenticity. By conſent of the deſcendants of Gov. Winthrop, propoſals were iſſued for publiſhing a ſmall number of copies; and the deſign is at length accompliſhed.

PREFACE.

The copy here presented to the public, was made by JOHN PORTER, Esq. the Secretary of the late Gov. Trumbull, whose declaration, respecting its accuracy, is here annexed. It is an extract from his letter to the Editor.

Lebanon, January 1st 1788.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLE to your request, I send you a copy of Gov. Winthrop's history. The transcribing has required more labor than I at first expected. I carefully examined the original, and on comparing, found many errors in the first copy; which, upon further experience in reading the original, I have been able to correct; as also to fill up many blanks. This has caused me much study, and retarded the completion of the business for some time. You will observe some blanks in the present copy—some of them are so in the original—but excepting the blanks, I believe this may be depended on as a genuin copy.

I am, dear Sir,
with sentiments of esteem,
your obedient humble servant,
JOHN PORTER.

The original is in the hand-writing, common to that age; and is not read without difficulty. The first copy was made during Gov. Trumbull's life, and part of it by the Governor himself. The last copy, here given to the world, was taken from the first, and throughout the whole, compared with the original. The blanks are few, and, as the reader will observe, of no considerable consequence.

Many parts of the work are not interesting to modern readers; but even these are necessary to give future historians an accurate acount of the first transactions of the settlers, and furnish posterity with a precise knowlege of the characters and manners of their forefathers.

Important institutions, and the general complexion of national government often originate in the most trivial circumstances, or the minutest traits of character; and without a detail of the most trifling facts in the early history of New-England, it will be impossible to understand the nature of their present religious and political establishments.

But however unimportant particular passages in the following Journal may appear to the body of readers, the substance of the work is highly valuable: and it is presumed the historian, the philosopher and the divine, will be gratified with a publication, which has long been a desideratum among the Literati of the New World.

Hartford, July 1790.

GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S JOURNAL.

Anno Domini, 1630.

March 29th, Monday.

1630. Easter Monday.

RIDING at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the Arabella, a ship of 350 tons, whereof Captain Peter Milburne was Master, being manned with 52 seamen and 28 pieces of ordnance. The wind coming to the N. by W. the evening before; in the morning there came aboard us, Mr. Cradock, the late Governor, and the Master of his two ships. Captain John Love, Master of the Ambrose, and Mr. Nicholas Thurlston, Master of the Jewel, and Mr. Thomas Beacher, Master of the Talbot, which three ships rode then by us; the Charles, the May-flower, the William and Francis, the Hopewell, the Whale, the Success, the Trial, being at Hampton and not ready. When, upon conference, it was agreed, that in regard it was uncertain when the rest of the fleet would be ready, four ships should consort together; the Arabella to be Admiral, the Talbot Vice-Admiral, the Ambrose, Rear-Admiral, and the Jewel a Captain; And accordingly articles of consortship were drawn between the said Captain and Master; whereupon Mr. Cradock took leave of us, and our Captain gave him a farewell with four or five shot.

About ten of the clock we weighed anchor and set sail, with the wind at N. and came to an anchor again over against Yarmouth, and the Talbot weighed likewise, and came and anchored by us. There we met with a ship of Hampton, called the Plantation, newly come from Virginia, the Captain saluted them, and he us again; and the Master, one Mr. Guerns, came on board the ship, and stayed with us about two or three hours, and in the mean time their ship came to an anchor by us.

1630. Tueſday, 30th. In the morning about ten of the clock, the wind being come to the W. with fair weather, we weighed and rode nearer Yarmouth. When we came before the town the caſtle put forth a flag; our Captain ſaluted them, and they anſwered us again. The Talbot, which went further off ſaluted the caſtle alſo.

There we ſaw cloſe by the ſhore of Iſle of Wight, a Dutch ſhip of 1000 tons, being bound to the Eaſt-Indies, about two years ſince, in paſſing thither, the rudder ſtruck upon a rock, and being forced to run aſhore to ſave her men, could never be weighed ſince. Altho' ſhe lies a great height above water, and yet ſhe hath ſome men aboard her.

Wedneſday, 31ſt. The wind continued W. and S. W. with rain. Our Captain and ſome of our company went to Yarmouth for ſupply of wood and other proviſions; our Captain was ſtill careful to fill our empty caſks with water.

Thurſday April 1. The wind continued very ſtrong at W. and by S. with much rain. We kept a faſt aboard our ſhip and the Talbot.

Friday 2d. The wind continued ſtill very high at W. and S. and rainy. In the time of our faſt, two of our landmen pierced a rundlet of ſtrong water,* and ſtole ſome of it, for which we laid them in bolts all the night, and the next morning the principal was openly whipped, and both kept with bread and water that day.

*Rum or ſpirits.

Saturday 3d. The wind continued ſtill at W. with continual ſtorms and rain.

Sunday 4th. Fair clear weather. In the morning the wind W. and by N. but in the afternoon S. S. W. This evening the Talbot weighed and went back to the Cowes, becauſe her anchor would not hold her, the tide ſet with ſo ſtrong a wave.

Monday 5th. The wind ſtill W. and by S. with fair weather. A maid of Sir Richard Saltonſtall fell down at the grating by the cook-room, but the carpenter ran, who occaſioned her fall unwittingly, caught hold of her with incredible nimbleneſs, and ſaved her, otherwiſe ſhe had fallen into the hold.

Tueſday 6th. Captain Burleigh, Captain of Yarmouth-Caſtle, a grave comely gentleman and of great age, came aboard us and ſtayed breakfaſt, and offering us much courteſy, he departed, our Captain giving him four ſhot out of the forecaſtle for his farewell. He was an old ſea Captain in Queen Elizabeth's time, and being taken priſoner at ſea, was kept priſoner in Spain three years; himſelf and three of his ſons, were Captains in Roe's voyage.

The wind was now come about to N. E. with very fair weather. In the afternoon Mr. Cradock came aboard us, told us that the Talbot, Jewel and Ambroſe were fallen down into

Stoke's

Stoke's Bay, intending to take their way by Helen's Point, and that they desired we would come back to them. Hereupon we came to council and wrote unto them to take the first opportunity of the wind to fall down to us, and Mr. Cradock presently went back to them, our Captain giving him three shot out of the steerage for a farewell. 1630.

Our Captain called over our landmen and tried them at their muskets, and such as were good shot among them, were enrolled to serve in the ship, if occasion should be.

The lady Arabella and the gentlewomen, and Mr. Johnston and some others went on shore to refresh themselves.

Fair weather, the wind Easterly, in the morning a small gale, but in the afternoon it came about to the South. This afternoon our other consorts came up to us, and about 10 or 12 Flemings, and all anchored by us, and the Master of the Jewel and the Ambrose came aboard us, and our Captain and they went on shore. Towards night there came from the W. a Fleming, a small man of war, with a Brazil man which he had taken prize, and came to anchor by us. Wednesday 7th.

About six in the morning, the wind being E. and by N. and fair weather, we weighed anchor and set sail, and before ten we got through the Needles, having so little wind as we had much to do to stem the tide, so as the rest of our fleet (we being nine in all, whereof some were small ships, which were bound for Newfoundland) could not get out all theirs till the ebb. In the afternoon the wind came S. and by W. and we were becalmed, so as not being able to get above three or four leagues from the Needles, our Captain tacked about, and putting his fore sheet aback stays, he stayed for the rest of the fleet, and as they came by us, we spake to them, and about 8 in the evening we let fall an anchor, intending to stop 'til the ebb, but before ten at night the wind came about to the N. a good gale, so we put up a light in the poop, and weighed and set sail, and by daylight we were come to Portland; but the other ships being not able to hold up with us, we were forced to spare our mainsail, and went on with a merry gale. In the night we discovered, from the top, 8 sail astern of us, whom Captain Love told us he had seen at Dunninast in the evening. We supposing they might be Dunkirkers, our Captain caused the gun room and gun deck to be cleared, all the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our powder chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and 25 of them appointed for musketteers, and every man written down for their quarter. Thursday 8th. Friday 9th.

The wind continued N. with fair weahter, and after noon it calmed

1630. calmed, and we ſtill ſaw thoſe eight ſhips to ſtand towards us, having more wind than we, they came up again, ſo that our Captain and the Maſters of the conſorts were more occaſioned to think they might be Dunkirkers, for we were told at Yarmouth, that there were ten ſail of them waiting for us; whereupon we all prepared for to fight with them, and took down ſome cabins which were in the way of our ordnance, and out of every ſhip were thrown ſuch matter as were ſubject to take fire, and we hove out our long boat, and put up our waſte cloths, and drew forth our men and armed them with muſkets and other weapons, and inſtruments for fireworks; and for an experiment our Captain ſhot a ball of wild fire faſtened to an arrow, out of a croſs-bow, which burnt in the water a good time. The lady Arabella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to ſee how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that ſhewed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if they had proved as might well be expected, for there had been eight againſt four, and the leaſt of the enemy's ſhips were reputed to carry 30 braſs pieces, but our truſt was in the Lord of Hoſts; and the courage of our Captain, and his care and diligence did much encourage us. It was now about one of the clock, and the fleet ſeemed to be within a league of us; therefore the Captain, becauſe he would ſhew he was not afraid of them, and that he might ſee the iſſue before night ſhould overtake us, tacked about and ſtood to meet them, and when we came near them we perceived them to be our friends; the Little Neptune, a ſhip of ſome twenty pieces of ordnance, and her two conſorts, bound for the Streights; a ſhip of Hampſhire, and a Frenchman and three other Engliſh ſhips bound for Canada and Newfoundland. So when we drew near, every ſhip as they met ſaluted each other, and the May-flower and ours diſcharged their ſmall ſhot; and ſo (God be praiſed) our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment, our danger being then over. We eſpied two boats on fiſhing in the channel, ſo every of our four ſhips manned out a ſkiff, and we bought of them great ſtore of excellent fiſh of divers ſorts.

Saturday 10th. The wind at E. and by N. a handſome gale with fair weather. By 7 in the morning we were come over againſt Plymouth. About noon the wind ſlacked, and we were come within ſight of the Lizard, and towards night it grew very calm and a great fog, ſo as our ſhips made no way.

This

This afternoon Mr. Thurlſton, the maſter of the Jewel came aboard our ſhip, and our captain went in his ſkiff aboard the Ambroſe and the Neptune, of which one Mr. Andrew Cole was maſter. There he was told that the bark Warwick was taken by the Dunkirkers, for ſhe came ſtraight out of the Downes about 14 days ſince, intending to come to us to the Wight, but was never heard of ſince. She was a pretty ſhip of about 80 tons and 10 pieces of ordnance, and was ſet out by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Captain Maſon and others, ſo to have interrupted the trade of beaver. The maſter of her was one Mr. Weathrall, whoſe father was maſter of one of the cattle ſhips, which we left at Hampton. 1630.

This day two young men falling at odds and fighting, contrary to the orders which we had publiſhed and ſet up in the ſhip, were adjudged to walk upon deck till night with their hands tied behind them, which accordingly was executed; and another man for uſing contemptuous ſpeech in our preſence, was laid in bolts till he ſubmitted himſelf and preſented open confeſſion of his offence.

I ſhould have noted before, that the day we ſet ſail from the Cowes, my ſon Henry Winthrop went on ſhore with one of my ſervants to fetch an ox and 10 weathers, which he had provided for our ſhip, and there went on ſhore with him, Mr. Pelham and one of his ſervants, they ſent the cattle aboard, but returned not themſelves. About three days after my ſervant and a ſervant of Mr. Pelham's came to us to Yarmouth, and told us they were all coming to us in a boat the day before, but the wind being ſo ſtrong againſt them, as they were forced on ſhore in the night, and the two ſervants came to Yarmouth by land, and ſo came on ſhip-board, but my ſon and Mr. Pelham, we heard, went back to the Cowes and ſo to Hampton. We expected them 3 or 4 days after, but they came not to us, ſo we have left them behind, and ſuppoſe they will come after in Mr. Goffe's ſhips. We were very ſorry they had put themſelves upon ſuch inconvenience when they were ſo well accommodated in our ſhip. This was not noted before, becauſe we expected daily their return. And upon this occaſion I muſt add here one obſervation, that we have many young gentlemen in our ſhip, who behave themſelves well, and are conformable to all good orders.

About 10 at night it cleared up with a freſh gale at N. E. and by W. ſo we ſtood on our courſe merrily.

The wind at N. and by W. a very ſtiff gale. About 8 in the morning being gotten paſt Silla, and ſtanding to the W. S. W. we met two ſmall ſhips, which falling in among us, Sunday 11th.

and

1630. and the Admiral coming under our lee, we let him paſs, but the Jewel and Ambroſe perceiving him then to be a Brazil man and to take the wind of us, ſhot at them and made them ſtop and fall after us, and ſent a ſkiff aboard them to know what they were. Our Captain fearing leſt ſome miſtake might ariſe, and leſt they ſhould take them for enemies which were friends, and ſo thro' the unrulineſs of the mariners ſome wrong might be done them, cauſed his ſkiff to be hauled out, and ſent Mr. Graves, one of his mates and our pilot (a diſcreet man), to ſee how things were, who returned ſoon after, and brought with them the maſter of one of the ſhips and Mr. Love and Mr. Thurlſton, when they were come aboard us, they agreed to ſend for the Captain, who came and ſhewed his commiſſion from the Prince of Orange. In concluſion he proved to be a Dutchman, and his a man of war of Fluſhing, and the other ſhip was a pinnace he had taken laden with ſugar and tobacco, ſo we ſent them aboard their ſhips again, and held on our courſe. In this time (which hindered us five or ſix days) the Jewel and the Ambroſe run foul of each other, ſo as we much feared the iſſue, but thro' God's mercy, they came well off again, only the Jewel had her foreſail torn, and one of her anchors broken. This occaſion, and the ſickneſs of our miniſter and people put us all out of order this day ſo as we could have no ſervices.

Monday Ap. 12th. The wind came large to the N. a ſtiff gale with fair weather. In the afternoon leſs wind, and our people began to grow well again. Our children and others that were ſick, and lay groaning in the cabbins, we fetched out, and having ſtretched a rope from the ſteerage to the mainmaſt, we made them ſtand ſome of one ſide and ſome of the other, and ſwing it up and down till they were weary, and by this means they ſoon grew well and merry.

Tueſday 13th. The night before it was calm, and the next day calm cloſe weather ſo as we made little way, the wind with us being Weſt.

Wedneſday 14th. The wind S. W. rainy weather in the morning. About 9 in the forenoon the wind came about to N.N.W. a ſtiff gale, ſo we tacked about and ſteered our courſe W. S. W. This day the ſhip heaved and ſet more than before, yet we had ſtill ſome ſick, and of theſe ſuch as came upon deck and ſtirred themſelves were preſently well again; therefore our Captain ſet our children and grown men to ſome harmleſs exerciſes which the ſeamen were very active in, and did our people much good, tho' they would ſometimes play the wag with them. Towards night we were forced to take in ſome ſail to ſtay for the Vice-Admiral which was near a league a ſtern of us.

The

The wind ſtill at N. N. W. fair weather, but leſs wind than the day and night before ſo as our ſhip made but little way. At noon our Captain made obſervation by the croſs ſtaff and found we were in 47. 37 minutes N. Lat. 1630. Thurſday 15th.

All the forenoon our Vice-Admiral was much to Leeward of us, ſo after dinner we came up towards her, and having fetched her up and ſpoke with her, the wind being come to S. W. we tacked about and ſteered our courſe N. N. W. lying as near the wind as we could, and about 4 of the clock, with a ſtiff gale, we ſteered W. and by N. and at night the wind grew very ſtrong which put us on to the W. amain.

About 10 at night, the wind grew ſo high and rain withal, that we were forced to take in our topſail, and having lower'd our mainſail and foreſail, the ſtorm was ſo great as it ſplit our foreſail and tore it to pieces, and the roll of the ſea waſhed our tub overboard, wherein our fiſh was a ſalting. The ſtorm ſtill grew, and it was dark with clouds, tho' otherwiſe moon light, ſo as tho' it was Jewel's turn to carry the light this night, yet leſt we ſhould loſe or go foul one of another we hung out a light upon our mizzen ſhrouds, and before midnight we loſt ſight of our Vice-Admiral.

Our Captain, ſo ſoon as he had ſet the watch at 8 in the evening, called his men and told them he feared we ſhould have a ſtorm, and therefore commanded them to be ready upon deck, if occaſion ſhould be, and himſelf was up and down the decks all hours of the night.

About 4 in the morning the wind tacked a little, yet it continued ſtill, and tho' in the afternoon it cleared with much wind, yet the ſea was ſo high as it toſſed us more than before, and we carried no more but our mainſail, yet our ſhip ſteered well with it, which ſome ſuch ſhips could not have done. Friday 16th.

About 4 in the afternoon the wind fell W. and by S. and rainy, we put on a new foreſail and hoiſted it up, and ſteered N. N. W. All the day our Rear-Admiral and the Jewel held up with us.

This night was very ſtormy. All the time of the ſtorm ſome of our people were ſick, tho' no men who kept under hatches, and there appeared no fear or diſheartedneſs among them.

The wind S. W. very ſtormy and boiſterous: all the time we bore no more ſail but our mainſail and foreſail, and we ſteered our courſe W. and by N. This day our Captain told me that our landmen were very naſty and ſlovenly, and that the gun deck where they lodged was ſo beaſtly and noiſome with their victuals and beaſtlineſs, as would much endanger the health of the Saturday 17th.

ſhip

1630. ſhip. Hereupon after prayer, we took orders, and appointed four men to ſee to it and to keep that room clean for three days, and then four others to ſucceed them and ſo on.

The wind continued all this day at S. W. a ſtiff gale; in the afternoon it cleared up, but very high. Our Captain about 4 o'clock ſent one to the top to look for the Vice-Admiral, but could not deſcry him, yet he ſaw a ſail about two leagues to Leeward which ſtood toward the N. E. We were this evening by our account about 90 leagues from Silla W. and by S. At this place there came a ſwallow and lighted upon our ſhip.

Sunday Ap. 18th. About 2 in the morning the wind N. W. ſo we tacked about and ſteered our courſe S. W. We had ſtill much wind, and the ſea went very high, which toſſed our ſhip continually. After our evening ſervice about 5 of the clock, the wind came about to the S. E. a good gale but rainy, ſo we ſteered our courſe W. S. W. and the ſhips way was about 9 leagues a watch (a watch is four hours) This day the Captain ſent to top again to diſcover our Vice-Admiral, we diſcerned from thence to the Eaſtward a ſail, but we knew not what ſhe was.

About 7 of the clock the Jewel came up ſo near us as we could ſpeak each to other, and after we eaſed ſome ſail, ſo ſhe went a head of us, and ſoon after 8 put forth her light.

Monday 19th. In the morning the wind came about to the N. W. a good gale and fair weather, ſo we held our courſe, but the ſhip made not ſo good way as when the wind was large.

This day by obſervation and account we found ourſelves to be in 48 N. Lat. and 220 leagues W. from the meridian of London. Here I think good to note, that all the time ſince we came from the Wight we had cold weather, ſo as we could well endure our warmeſt clothes. I wiſh therefore that all ſuch as ſhall paſs this way in the ſpring have care to put up warm clothes, for nothing breeds more trouble and danger of ſickneſs in this ſeaſon, than cold. In the afternoon the wind came to S. W. a ſtiff gale with rain, ſo we ſteered Weſterly, till night, then the wind came about to N. W. and we tacked again and ſtood S. W. Our Rear Admiral being to Leeward of us we bore up to him, he told us all their people were in health, but one of their cows was dead.

Tueſday 20th. The wind Southerly, fair weather and little wind; in the morning we ſteered S. and by E. in the afternoon W. and by N.

Wedneſday 21ſt. Thick rainy weather, much wind at S. W. Our Captain over night had invited his conſorts to have dined with him this day, but it was ſuch foul weather as they could not come aboard us.

The

1630.

The wind ſtill W. and by S. fair weather, then W. N. W. This day at noon we found ourſelves in 47 degrees and 48 minutes, and having a ſtiff gale, we ſteered S. W. about 4 leagues a watch all this day, and all the night following. Thurſday 22.

The wind ſtill W. N. W. a ſmall gale, with fair weather. Our Captain put forth his ancient in the poop, and hove out his ſkiff and lowered his topſails to give ſign to his conſorts, that they ſhould come aboard us to dinner, for they were both a good way a ſtern of us, and our Vice-Admiral was not yet ſeen of us ſince the ſtorm, tho we ſent to the top every day to deſcry him. Friday 23.

About 11 of the clock our Captain ſent his ſkiff and fetched aboard us the Maſters of the other two ſhips, and Mr. Pincheon, and they dined with us in the round houſe, for the lady and gentlewomen dined in the great cabin.

This day and the night following we had little wind, ſo as the ſea was very ſmooth, and the ſhip made little way.

The wind ſtill W. and by N. fair weather and calm all that day and evening. Here we made obſervation again and found we were in 45 20 N. Lat. Saturday 24.

The wind Northerly, fair weather, but ſtill calm; we ſtood W. and by S. and ſaw two ſhips a head of us as far as we could deſcry. In the afternoon the wind came W. and by S. but calm ſtill. About 5 of the clock the Rear-Admiral and the Jewel had fetched up the two ſhips, and by their ſaluting each other we perceived they were friends, for they were ſo far to the windward of us as we could only ſee the ſmoke of their pieces, but could not hear them. About 9 of the clock they both fell back towards us again, and we ſteered N. N. W. Now the weather began to be warm. Sunday 25.

The wind ſtill W. and by S. cloſe weather and ſcarce any wind. The two ſhips which we ſaw yeſterday were bound for Canada. Capt. Kirk was aboard the Admiral; they came up with us, and falling cloſe under our lee, we ſaluted each other, and conferred together ſo long 'till the Vice-Admiral was becalmed by our ſails, and we were foul one of another; but there being little wind and the ſea calm; we kept them aſunder with our oars &c. 'till they hove out their boat, and ſo towed their ſhip away. They told us for certain that the King of France had ſent out ſix of his own ſhips to recover the fort from them. Monday 26.

About one of the clock Capt. Love ſent his ſkiff aboard us, with a friendly token of love to the Governor, to deſire our Captain to come aboard his ſhip, which he did, and then met

1630. the maſters of the other ſhips and Capt. Kirk, and before night they all returned to their ſhips again, Capt. Love beſtowing ſome ſhot upon them for their welcome.

The wind now blew a pretty gale, ſo as our ſhip made ſome way again, tho it were out of our right courſe N. W. and by N.

Tueſday 27. The wind ſtill Weſterly, a ſtiff gale with cloſe weather, we ſteered W. N. W. About noon ſome rain and all the day very cold. We appointed Tueſdays and Wedneſdays to catechiſe our people, and this day Mr. Philips began it.

Wedneſday 28. All the night and this day till noon, the wind very high at S. W. cloſe weather and ſome rain; between 11 and 12 in a ſhower the wind came W. N. W. ſo we tacked about and ſtood S. W.

Thurſday 29. Much wind all this night at W. & by N. and the ſea went very high, ſo as the ſhip rolled very much, becauſe we ſailed but with one courſe; therefore about 12, our Captain aroſe and cauſed the foretopſail to be hoiſted, and then the ſhip went more ſteady.

In the morning the wind continued with a ſtiff gale, rainy and cold all the day. We had been now three weeks at ſea, and were not come above 300 leagues, being about one third part of our way, viz. about 46 N. lat. and near the meridian of the T——s.

This night Capt. Kirk carried the light as one of our conſorts.

Friday 30. The wind at W. N. W. a ſtrong gale all the night and day, with ſtorms now and then. We made obſervation and found we were in 44 N. lat. At night the wind ſcanted towards the S. with rain, ſo we tacked about and ſtood N. W. and by N.

May 1. Saturday. All the night much wind at S. S. W. and rain; in the morning the wind ſtill ſtronger, ſo as we could bear little ſail, and ſo it continued a growing ſtorm all the day, and towards night ſo much wind as we bore no more ſail but ſo much as ſhould keep the ſhip ſtiff; then it grew a very great tempeſt with ſevere ſhowers of rain intermixed and very cold.

Lord's-day 2. The tempeſt continued all this day, with the wind W. and by N. and the ſea raged and toſſed us exceedingly, yet thro' Gods mercy we were very comfortable and few or none ſick, but had opportunity to keep the ſabbath, and Mr. Philips prayed twice that day. The Ambroſe and Jewel were ſeparated far from us the firſt night, but this day we ſaw them again, but Captain Kirk's ſhip we ſaw not ſince.

Monday 3. In the night the wind abated, and by morning the ſea was well aſſwaged, ſo as we bore our foreſail again, and ſtood W. S. W.

S. W. but all the time of the tempeſt we could make no way, but were driven to the leeward, and the Ambroſe ſtruck all her ſail but her mizzen, and lay a hull; ſhe broke her main yard. This day we made obſervation and found we were in 43 1-2 N. Lat. We ſet two ſailors in the bolts, till night, with their hands bound behind them. A maid ſervant in the ſhip being ſtomach ſick, drank ſo much ſtrong water that ſhe was ſenſeleſs, and had near killed herſelf. We obſerved it a common fault in our grown people, that they gave themſelves to drink hot waters very immoderately. 1630.

Much wind at S. W. cloſe weather. In the morning we tacked about and ſtood N. W. and about 10 in the morning W. N. W. but made but little way in regard of the hard ſea. Tueſday 4.

The wind W. and by S. thick foggy weather and rainy, ſo we ſtood N. W. and by W. At night the Lord remembered us, and enlarged the wind to the N. ſo we tacked about and ſtood our courſe W. and by S. with a merry gale in all our ſails. Wedneſday 5.

The wind at N. a good gale and fair weather. We made obſervation and found we were 43 1-2 N. Lat. ſo we ſtood full W. & came in 24 hours about 30 leagues. Some things I obſerved here. 1ſt. that the declination of the pole ſtar was much (even to the view) beneath what it is in England. 2d. that the new moon, when it firſt appeared, was much ſmaller than at any time I had ſeen it in England. 3d. that all the way we came, we ſaw fowls flying and ſwimming when we had no land near by 200 leagues. 4th. that whenſoever the wind blew we had ſtill cold weather, and the ſun did not give ſo much here as in England. Thurſ. 6.

The wind N. and by E. a ſmall gale, very fair weather, and towards night a ſtill calm. This day the Captain and Mr. Love dined aboard the Jewel. Frid. 7.

All the night calm, in the morning the wind S. W. a handſome gale, ſo we tacked and ſtood N. W. and ſoon after the wind growing more large, we ſtood W. N. W. with a good gale. About four of the clock we ſaw a whale, who lay juſt in our ſhips way, the bunch of his back about a yard above water; he would not ſwim up, ſo we paſſed within a ſtones caſt of him as he lay ſpouting up water. Sat. 8.

The wind ſtill S. W. a good gale, but cloſe weather and ſome rain, we held on our courſe W. N. W. about 9 it cleared up, and towards night a great fog for an hour or two. We were now in 44 1-2 N. Lat. and a little weſt of Cowes. Lord'sday 9.

The wind S. S. W. a good gale and fair weather, ſo we Mond. 10.

ſtood

1630. ſtood W. and by N. four or five leagues a watch, all this day. The wind increaſed and was a great ſtorm all the night. About midnight our Rear-Admiral put forth two lights, whereby we knew that ſome miſchance had befallen her. We anſwered her with two lights again, and came up to her, ſo near as we durſt (for the ſea went very high) and ſhe lay by the lee, but ſhe had broken ſome of her ſhrouds. Having hailed her, we learnt ſhe had ſprung a leak, ſo we went a little a head of her, and bringing our foreſail a back ſtays, we ſtayed for her, and about two hours after ſhe filled her ſails, and we ſtood our courſe together, but our Captain went not to reſt, till four of the clock, and ſome others of us ſlept but little that night.—

Tueſ. 11. The ſtorm continued all this day, till three in the afternoon, and the ſea went very high, ſo as our ſhip could make no way, being able to bear no more but our mainſail about midmaſt high. At three there fell a great ſtorm of rain, we layed to the wind, and the wind ſhifting into the W. we tacked and ſtood into the hard ſea, to avoid the rolling of our ſhip, and by that means we made no way, the ſea beating us back as much as the wind put us forward. We had ſtill cold weather, and our people were ſo acquainted with ſhowers, as they were not ſick, nor troubled, tho we were much toſſed 48 hours together, viz. 24 during the ſtorm, and as long the next night and day following.

Wed. 12. When we lay as it were a hull, for want of wind, and rolling continually in a high grown ſea. This day was cloſe and rainy.

Complaint was made to our Captain of ſome injury that one of the under officers of the ſhip had done to one of our landmen. He called him and examined the cauſe, and commanded him to be tied up by the hands, and a weight to be hanged about his neck; but at the interceſſion of the Governor, with ſome difficulty, he recalled his puniſhment. At night the wind blew at S. and by E. a handſome gale, with rain, ſo we put forth our ſails and ſtood W. and by S.

Thurſ. 13. Towards morning the wind came to the S. Weſterly, with cloſe weather and a ſtrong gale, ſo as before noon we took in our topſails, the Rear-Admiral having ſplit her fore-topſail, and we ſtood W. ſoutherly.

Frid. 14. The wind W. S. W. thick foggy weather, and in the afternoon rainy. We ſtood W. and by S. and after W. and by N. about 5 leagues a watch. We were in 44 1-2 N. Lat. the ſun ſet N. W. and by N. 1-3 Notherly, and towards night we ſtood W.

The

The wind Weſterly all this day, fair weather, we tacked twice to ſmall purpoſe. 1630.

As the 15th was. Sat. 15.

The wind at S a fine gale and fair weather. We ſtood W. and by S. We ſaw a great drift, ſo we hove out our ſkiff, and it proved a firr log, which ſeemed to have been many years in the water, for it was all overgrown with barnicles and other traſh. We ſounded here and found no ground at 100 fathom and more. We ſaw two whales. About 9 at night the wind grew very ſtrong at S. W. and continued ſo with much rain till one of the clock, then it ceaſed raining, but the wind came round to the W. with more violence. In this ſtorm we were forced to take in all our ſails ſave our mainſail, and to lower that ſo much as we could. L. Day 16. Mond. 17.

In the morning the wind ſlacked, but we could ſtand no nearer our courſe than N. and we had much wind all this day. In the afternoon we tacked and ſtood S. and by E. Towards night our Rear Admiral being near two leagues to leeward of us, we came up, and drawing near her, we deſcried ſcarce two leagues more to leeward two ſhips, which we conceived were thoſe two of Captain Kirk's, which parted from us in the ſtorm, May 2d. We had ſtill cold weather. Tueſ. 18.

The wind S. S. W. cloſe and rainy, little wind. We tacked again and ſtood W. but about noon the wind came full W. a very ſtrong gale, ſo we tacked again and ſtood N. and by E. and at night we took off our main bonnet, and took in all our ſails, ſave our main courſe, and mizzen. We were now in 44° 12. and by our account in the midway between the falſe back and the main back. All this night a great ſtorm at W. and by N. Wed. 19.

The ſtorm continued all this day, the wind as it was, and rainy. In the forenoon we carried our forecourſe and ſtood W. S. W. but in the afternoon we took it in, the wind increaſing and the ſea grown very high, and lying with the helm a weather, we made no way but as the ſhip drove. We had ſtill cold weather. Thurſ. 20.

In the great cabbin at 9 at night, &c. and the next day again, &c. The ſtorm continued all this night. Faſt.

The wind ſtill N. W. little wind and cloſe weather. We ſtood S. W. with all our ſails, but made little way, and at night it was a ſtill calm. A ſervant of one of our company had bargained with a child to ſell him a box worth 3d. for three biſcuits a day all the voyage, and had received about 40, and had ſold them and many more to ſome other ſervants. Frid. 21.

We

1630. We cauſed his hands to be tied up to a bar, and hung a baſket with ſtones about his neck, and ſo he ſtood two hours.

Sat. 22. The wind S. S. W. much wind and rain. Our ſpritſail lay ſo deep in as it was ſplit in pieces with a hard ſea at the inſtant as our Captain was going forth of his cabbin very early in the morning to give orders to take it in. It was a great mercy of God, that it did ſplit, for otherwiſe it had endangered the breaking of our bowſprit, and topmaſt at leaſt, and then we had had no other way but to have returned for England, except the wind had come eaſt.

About 10 in the morning in a very great fret of wind, it chopt ſuddenly into the W. as it had done divers times before, and ſo continued with a ſmall gale and ſtood N. and by W. About 4 in the afternoon there aroſe a ſudden ſtorm of wind and rain, ſo violent as we had not a greater. It continued thick and boiſterous all the night. About 7 we deſcried a ſail a head of us towards the N. and byE. which ſtood towards us. Our Captain ſuppoſing it might be our Vice Admiral, hoiſted up his main-ſail which before was ſtruck down aboard, and came up to meet her, when we drew near her we put forth our enſign, and ſhe tuſſled up to get the wind of us, but when ſhe ſaw ſhe could not ſhe bore up, and hoiſting up her foreſail, ſtood away before the wind, yet we made all the ſigns we could, that we meant her no harm, but ſhe would not hail us. She was within ſhot of us, ſo as we perceived ſhe was a ſmall Frenchman which we did ſuppoſe had been driven off the bank: when ſhe was clear of us ſhe ſtood her courſe again, and we ours. This day at 12 we made obſervation and were about 43 but the ſtorm put us far to the N. again; ſtill cold weather.

L. day 23. Much wind, ſtill Weſterly, and very cold weather.

Mond. 24. The wind N. W. and by N. a handſome gale, and cloſe weather and very cold, we ſtood S. W. About noon we had occaſion to lie by the lee to ſtraighten our mizzen ſhrouds, and the Rear Admiral and Jewel being both to windward of us, bore up and came under our lee to enquire if any thing were amiſs with us, ſo we heard the company was in health in the Jewel, but that two paſſengers were dead in the Ambroſe, and one other.

Tueſ. 25. The wind ſtill N. W. fair weather but cold. We went on with a handſome gale, at noon were in 43 1-2—and the variation of the compaſs was a point and half. All this day we ſtood W. S. W. about 5 or 6 leagues a watch, and towards

night

night the wind enlarged, with a cold dash of snowy rain, and then we came in a smooth sea about 8 or 9 leagues a watch, and stood due West. 1630.

The wind still N. W. a good gale and fair weather, but very cold still, yet we were about 43. At night we sounded, but found no ground. Wed. 26.

The wind N. W. a handsome gale, fair weather. About noon it came about to the S. W. and at night rain, with a stiff gale, and it continued to rain very hard 'till it was near midnight. This day our skiff went aboard the Jewel for a hogshead of water which we borrowed, because we could not come by our own, and there came back in the skiff the master of the Jewel and Mr. Nowell, so our Captain stayed them to dinner and sent for Capt. Love, and about two hours after dinner, they went aboard their own ships, our Capt. giving Mr. Nowell three shot, because he was one of the owners of our ship. We understood now that the two which died in the Ambrose were Mr. Cradock's servants who were sick when they came to sea; and one of them should have been left at Cowes if any host would have received him. In the Jewel also one of the seamen died; he was a most profane fellow, and one who was very injurious to the passengers, tho much against the will of the master. At noon we tacked about and stood W. and by N. and so continued most part of that day and night following, and had much rain till midnight. Thurs. 27.

In the morning the wind veered to the W. yet we had a stiff gale and steered N. W. and by N. It was so great a fog all this day, as we had lost sight of one of our ships, and saw the other some leagues to leeward: We had many fine showers of rain throughout this day. At night the wind cleared up, and we saw both our consorts fair by us; so the wind being very scant, we tacked and stood W. and by S. A child was born in the Jewel about this time. Frid. 28.

The wind N. W. a stiff gale and fair weather, but very cold. In the afternoon full N. and towards night N. and by E. so we stood W. Sat. 29.

The wind N. and by E. a handsome gale, but close misty weather, and very cold, so our ship made good way in a smooth sea, and our three ships kept close together. By our account we were in the same meridian with Isle Sable, and 42 1-2.— L. day 30.

Wind N. W. a small gale, close and cold weather, we sounded but had no ground. About noon the wind came N. and by E. a stiff constant gale and fair weather, so our ship's way Mond. 31.

was

1630. was 7, 8, and ſometimes 12 leagues a watch. This day about 5 at night we expected the eclipſe, but there was not any, the ſun being fair and clear from three 'till it ſet.

June 1. Tueſday. The wind N. E. a ſmall gale, with fair clear weather; in the afternoon full S. and towards night a good gale. We ſtood W. and by N. A woman in our ſhip fell in travail, and we ſent and had a midwife out of the Jewel. She was ſo far a head of us at this time (tho' uſually we could ſpare her ſome ſail) as we ſhot off a gun and lower'd our topſails, and then ſhe trailed her ſails and ſtayed for us. This evening we ſaw the new moon more than half an hour after ſunſet, being much ſmaller than it is at any time in England.

Wed. 2. The wind S. S. W. a handſome gale, very fair weather, but ſtill cold; in the evening a great fog. We ſtood W. and by N. and W. N. W. Our Captain ſuppoſing us now to be near the N. coaſt, and knowing that to the S. there were dangerous ſhoals, fitted on a new main-ſail, that was very ſtrong and double, and would not adventure with his old ſails as before when he had ſea-room enough.

Thurſ. 3. The wind S. and by W. a good ſteady gale, and we ſtood W. and by N. The fog continued very thick, and ſome rain with all. We ſounded in the morning and again at noon, and had no ground; we ſounded again about two, afternoon, and had ground about 80 fathom, a fine grey ſand, ſo we preſently tacked and ſtood S. S. E. and ſhot off a piece of ordnance to give notice to our conſorts whom we ſaw not ſince laſt evening. The fog continued all this night, and a ſteady gale at S. W.

Frid. 4. About 4 in the morning we tacked again (the wind S. W.) and ſtood W. N. W. The fog continued all this day, ſo as we could not ſee a ſtones caſt from us; yet the ſun ſhone very bright all the day. We ſounded every two hours, but had no ground. At night we tacked again and ſtood S.

Sat. 5. In the morning the wind came to the N. E. a handſome gale, and the fog was diſperſed, ſo we ſtood before the wind W. and by N. all the afternoon being rainy. At night we ſounded, but had no ground. In the great cabin thankſgiving.

It rained moſt part of this night, yet our Capt. kept abroad, and was forced to come in in the night to ſhift his cloaths. We ſounded every half watch but had no ground.

L. day 6. The wind N. E. and after N. a good gale, but ſtill foggy at times and cold. We ſtood W. N. W. both to make Cape Sable, if we might, and alſo becauſe of the current, which, near the W. ſhore, ſets to the S. that we might be the more clear from the

the ſouthern ſhoals, *viz.* of Cape Cod. About 2 in the afternoon we ſounded and had ground at about 80 fathom, and the miſt then breaking up, we ſaw the ſhore to the N. about 5 or 6 leagues off, and were, as we ſuppoſed, to the S. W. of Cape Sable, and in 43 1-4—towards night it calmed and was foggy again, and the wind came S. and by E. we tacked and ſtood W. and by N. intending to make land at Aquaweticus, being to the N. of the Iſles of Shoals. 1630.

The wind S. About 4 in the morning we ſounded and had ground at 30 fathom, and was ſomewhat calm, ſo we put our ſhip aſtays, and took, in leſs than two hours, with a few hooks, 67 codfiſh, moſt of them very great fiſh, ſome a yard and half long, being a yard in compaſs. This came very ſeaſonably, our ſalt fiſh was now ſpent, and we were taking care for victuals this day (being a fiſh day). After this we fitted our ſails and ſtood W. N. W. with a ſmall gale. The weather was now very cold. We ſounded at 8 and had 50 fathom, and being calm we hove out our hooks again, and took 26 cods, ſo we all feaſted with fiſh this day. A woman was delivered of a child in our ſhip, ſtill born: The woman had divers children before, but none lived, and ſhe had ſome miſchance now, which cauſed this to come near a month before her time, but ſhe did very well. At one of the clock we had a freſh gale at N. W. and very fair weather all that afternoon, and warm, but the wind failed ſoon. All the night the wind was W. and by S. a ſtiff gale, which made us ſtand to and again with ſmall advantage. Mond. 7.

The wind ſtill W. and by S. fair weather, but cloſe and cold. We ſtood N. N. W. with a ſtiff gale, and about 3 in the afternoon we had ſight of land to the N. W. about eight leagues, which we ſuppoſed was the Iſle of Monhegan, but it proved Mount Manſelle. Then we tacked and ſtood W. S. W. We had now fine ſun-ſhine weather, and ſo pleaſant a ſcene here as did much refreſh us, and there came a ſmell off the ſhore like the ſmell of a garden. There came a wild pigeon into our ſhip, and another ſmall land-bird. Tueſ. 8.

In the morning the wind Eaſterly, but grew preſently calm. Now we had very fair weather and warm: About noon the wind came to S. W. ſo we ſtood W. N. W. with a handſome gale, and had the main land upon our ſtarboard all that day about 8 or 10 leagues off. It is very high land, lying in many hills very unequal. At night we ſaw many ſmall iſlands (being low-land) between us and the main, about 5 or 6 leagues off us; and about three leagues from us towards the main, a ſmall rock a little above water. At night we ſounded Wed. 9.

1630. and had ſoft oozy ground at 60 fathom: ſo the wind being now ſet at W. we tacked again and ſtood S. S. W. we were now in 43 30.—This high land which we ſaw we judged to be at the W. cape of the great bay which goeth towards Port-Royal, called Mount Deſert or Mount Manſelle, and no iſland, but part of the main. In the night the wind ſhifted often.

Thurſ. 10. In the morning the wind S. and by W. till 5,—in the morning a thick fog; then it cleared up with fine weather, but ſomewhat cloſe. After we had run for 10 leagues W. by S. we loſt ſight of the former land, but made other high land on our ſtarboard as far off as we could deſcry, but we loſt it again.

The wind continued all this day at S. a ſtiff ſteady gale, yet we bore all our ſails and ſtood W. S. W. About 4 in the afternoon we made land on our ſtarboard bow, called the Three Turks Heads, being a ridge of three hills upon the main, whereof the Southermoſt is the greateſt: It lies near Aquaweticus. We deſcried alſo another hill more northward, which lies by Cape Porpus. We ſaw alſo ahead of us, ſcarce four leagues from ſhore, a ſmall rock * not above a flight ſhot, over which hath a dangerous ſhoal to the E. and by S. of it, ſome two leagues in length: We kept our left——and weathered it, and left it on our ſtarboard about two miles off. Towards night we might ſee the trees in all places very plainly and a ſmall hill to the Southward of the Turks Heads. All the reſt of the land to the S. was plain low land; Here we had a fine freſh ſmell from ſhore. Then leſt we ſhould not get clear of the ledge of rocks which lay under water from within a ſlight ſhot of the ſaid rock, called Bonne Iſle, which we had now brought N. E. from us towards Piſcataquac, we tacked and ſtood S. E. with a ſtiff gale at S. and by W.

* called Bonne Iſle

Frid. 11. The wind ſtill S. W. cloſe weather; we ſtood to and again all this day within ſight of Cape Anne. The Iſles of Shoals were now within two leagues of us, and we ſaw a ſhip lie there at anchor, and 5 or 6 ſhallops under ſail up and down. We took many mackarel, and met a ſhallop which ſtood from Cape Anne towards the Iſles of Shoals, which belonged to ſome Engliſh fiſhermen.

Sat. 12. About 4 in the morning we were near our port: We ſhot off two pieces of ordnance, and ſent our ſkiff to Mr. Pierce his ſhip which lay in the harbour, and had been here days before. About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a ſhallop as he was ſailing to Penaquid. As we ſtood towards the harbour we ſaw another ſhallop coming to us, ſo we ſtood in to meet her, and paſſed thro the narrow ſtreight between

Baker's

Baker's Iſle and Little Iſle, and came to an anchor a little within the Iſland. 1630.

After Mr. Pierce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endicott, who came to us about 2 of the clock, and with him Mr. Shelton and Capt. Levett. We that were of the aſſiſtants, and ſome other gentlemen, and ſome of the women and our Captain, returned with them to * Nahumkeck, where we ſupped on a good veniſon paſtry and good beer, and at night we returned to our ſhip, but ſome of the women ſtayed behind. In the morning the reſt of the people went on ſhore upon the land off Cape Anne, which lay very near us, to gather ſtore of ſtrawberries. An Indian came aboard us and lay here all night. * Salem.

In the morning the Sagamore of Agawam and one of his men came aboard our ſhip and ſtayed with us all day. About 2 in the afternoon we deſcried the Jewel, ſo we manned out our ſkiff and wafted them in, and they went as near the harbour as the tide and wind would ſuffer. Sund. 13.

In the morning early we weighed anchor, and the wind being againſt us, and the channel ſo narrow as we could not well turn in; we warped in our ſhip and came to an anchor in the inward harbour. In the afternoon we went with the moſt of our company on ſhore, and our Capt. gave us 5 pieces. Mond. 14.

We went to Mattachuſetts, to find out a place for our ſitting down. We went up Miſtick river about ſix miles. We lay at Mr. Maverick's, and returned home on Saturday. As we came home, we came by Nataſkott and ſent for Capt. Squibb aſhore. He had brought the Weſt-country people, viz. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Roſſeter, Mr. Maverick, and ended a difference between him and the paſſengers, whereupon he ſent his boat to his ſhip (the Mary and John) and at our firing gave us five pieces. At our return we found the Ambroſe in the harbour at Salem. Thurſ. 17.

The Mayflower and the Whale arrived ſafe in Charlton harbour. Their paſſengers were all in health, but moſt of their cattle dead (whereof a mare and horſe of mine) ſome few horſes came over in good plight. July 1. Thurſday

The Talbott arrived here; ſhe had loſt 14 paſſengers. July 2.

My ſon Henry Winthrop, was drowned at Salem. Frid.

The Hopewell, and William and Francis arrived. Sat. 3.

The Trial arrived at Charlton, and the Charles at Salem. Mond. 5.

The Succeſs arrived; ſhe had goats and loſt of them, and many of her paſſengers were near ſtarved, &c. Tueſ. 6.

The Lyon went back to Salem. Wed. 7.

We kept a day of Thankſgiving in all the plantations. Thurſ. 8

Captain.

1630. Captain Endicott and —— Gibſon were married by the Governor and Mr. Wilſon.

Thurſ. 18. The French ſhip called the Guiſte came into the harbour at
Aug. 20. Charlton, ſhe had been 12 weeks at ſea and loſt one paſſenger
Sat. and 12 goats; ſhe delivered ſix.

Monday we kept a Court.

Frid. 27. We of the congregation kept a faſt, and choſe Mr. Wilſon our teacher and Mr. Newell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aſpenwall, deacons. We uſed impoſition of hands, but with this proteſtation by all that it was only as a ſign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilſon ſhould renounce his money he received in England.

Sept. 20. Mr Gager died.

About 2 in the morning, Mr. Iſaac Johnſon, died; his wife the lady Arabella of the houſe of Lincoln, being dead about one month before. He was a holy man, and wiſe, and died in ſweet peace, leaving ſome part of his ſubſtance to the colony.

The wolves killed ſix calves at Salem, and they killed one wolf.

Thomas Morton adjudged to be impriſoned till he were ſent into England, and his houſe burnt down for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other miſdemeanors, Captain Brooks, maſter of the Gift, refuſed to carry him.

French of Watertown had his wigwam burnt and all his goods. Billigton executed at Plimouth for murdering one.

Mr. Philips, Miniſter of Watertown, and others, had their hay burnt.

The wolves killed ſome ſwine at Saugus: a cow died at Plimouth, and a goat at Boſton with eating Indian corn.

Oct. 23. Mr. Roſſeter one of the aſſiſtants died.

25. Mr. Colburne, who was choſen deacon by the congregation a week before, was inveſted by impoſition of hands of the Miniſter and elder,

The Governor, upon conſideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, reſtrained it at his own table, and wiſhed others to do the like, ſo as it grew by little and little to diſuſe.

29. The Handmaid arrived at Plimouth, having been 12 weeks at ſea, and ſpent all her maſts, and of 28 cows ſhe loſt 10. She had about 60 paſſengers who came all well. John Grant, maſter, Mr. Goffe wrote me that his ſhipping this year had utterly undone him.

Nov. 11. The maſter came to Boſton with Captain Standiſh and two gentlemen paſſengers who came to plant here, but having no teſtimony, we would not receive them.

Firmin

Firmin of Watertown had his wigwam burnt. Divers had their hay-ſtacks burnt by burning the graſs. 1630.

Three of the Governor's Servants were from this day to the 1ſt December abroad in their ſkiff among the Iſlands in bitter froſt and ſnow, being kept from home by the N. W. wind, and without victuals: at length they got to Mount Woollaſton, and left their boat there, and came home by land—Laus Deo. 27

The Governor and moſt of the aſſiſtants and others met at Roxbury, and there agreed to build a town fortified upon the neck between that and Boſton, and a committee was appointed to conſider of all things requiſite, &c. Dec. 6.

The committee met at Roxbury, and upon further conſideration, for reaſons, it was concluded, that we could not have a town in the place aforeſaid. 1. Becauſe men would be forced to keep two families. 2. There was no running water, and if there were any ſprings they would not ſuffice the town. 3. The moſt part of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again: ſo we agreed to meet at Watertown that day ſen'night, and in the mean time other places ſhould be viewed.

Capt. Neale and three other gentlemen came hither to us, he came in the bark Warwich this ſummer to Piſcataqua, ſent as Governor there for Sir Ferdinand Georges and others.

We met again at Watertown, and here, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and we took time to conſider further about it. 21

Till this time there was for the moſt part, fair open weather, with gentle froſts in the night; but this day the wind came N. W. very ſtrong, and ſome ſnow withall, but ſo cold as ſome had their fingers frozen, and in danger to be loſt. Three of the Governor's ſervants coming in a ſhallop from Miſtick, were driven by the wind upon Noddles Iſland, and forced to ſtay there all that night, without fire or food, yet thro God's mercy they came ſafe to Boſton next day, but the fingers of two of them were bliſtered with cold, and one ſwooned when he came to the fire. 23

The rivers are frozen up, and they of Charleſtown could not come to the ſermon at Boſton till the afternoon at high water. Many of our cows and goats were forced to be ſtill aboard for want of houſes. 26

Richard Garner a ſhoe-maker of Boſton, and one of the congregation there, with one of his daughters a young maid and four others went towards Plimouth in a ſhallop, againſt the 28

advice

1630. advice of their friends, and about the Gurnett's noſe the wind overblew ſo much at N. W. as they were forced to come to a hillock at 20 fathom, but their boat drove and ſhaked out the ſtern and they were put to ſea, and the boat took in much water, which did freeze ſo hard as they could not free her, ſo they gave themſelve for loſt, and commending themſelves to God, they diſpoſed themſelves to die, but one of their company eſpying land near Cape Cod, they made ſhift to hoiſt up part of their ſail, and by God's ſpecial providence were carried thro the rock to the ſhore, when ſome got on land, but ſome had their legs frozen into the ice, ſo as they were forced to be cut out. Being come on ſhore they kindled a fire, but having no hatchet, they could get little wood, and were forced to lie in the open air all night, being extremely cold. In the morning two of their company went towards Plimouth, ſuppoſing it had been within ſeven or eight miles, whereas it was near fifty miles from them. By the way they met with two Indian ſquaws, who coming home, told their huſbands that they had met two Engliſh men: they thinking (as it was) that they had been ſhipwrecked, made after them, and brought them back to their wigwam, and entertained them kindly, and one of them went with them the next day to Plimouth, and the other went to find out their boat and the reſt of their company, which were ſeven miles off, and having found them, he helped them what he could, and returned to his wigwam, and fetched them a hatchet, and built them a wigwam and covered it, and got them wood, for they were ſo weak and frozen, as they could not ſtir, and Garner died about two days after his landing, and the ground being ſo frozen as they could not dig his grave, the Indian hewed a hole about half a yard deep, with his hatchet, and having lain the corps in it, he laid over it a great heap of wood to keep it from the wolves. By this time the Governor of Plimouth had ſent three men to them with proviſions, who being come, and not able to launch their boat, (which with the ſtrong N. W. wind was driven up to the high water mark) the Indian returned to Plimouth and fetched three more, but before they came they had launched their boat, and with a fair Southerly wind were gotten to Plimouth where another of their company died, his fleſh being mortified with the froſt; and the two who went to wards Plimouth died alſo, one of them being not able to get hither, and the other had his feet ſo frozen as he died of it after. The girl eſcaped beſt, and one Harmer, a godly man of the congregation of B. lay long under the ſurgeon's hands, and it was above ſix weeks before he could get the boat from Plimouth; and in their return

they

they were much diſtreſſed, yet their boat was very well manned, the want whereof before was the cauſe of their loſs. 1631.

A houſe at Dorcheſter was burnt down. January.

Mr. Freeman's houſe at Watertown was burned down, but being in the day time, his goods were ſaved. Feb. 11.

The ſhip Lyon, Mr. William Pierce, maſter, arrived at Nantaſket. She brought Mr. Williams a godly man, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton,——Perkins,——Augre and others with their wives and children, about twenty paſſengers, and about 200 tons of goods. She ſet ſail from Briſtol, December 1ſt. ſhe had a very tempeſtuous paſſage, yet through God's mercy, all their people came ſafe, except Waye, his ſon, who fell from the ſpritſail yard in a tempeſt, and could not be recovered, tho he kept in ſight, near a quarter of an hour: her goods came alſo in good condition. 5

The Governor went aboard the Lyon riding by Long-Iſland. 8

The Lyon came to anchor before Boſton, where ſhe rode very well, notwithſtanding the great drift of ice. 9

The froſt broke up, and after that tho we had many ſtorms and ſharp froſt, yet they continued not, neither were the waters frozen up as before. And it hath been obſerved ever ſince this bay was planted by the Engliſh, viz, ſeven years, that at this day the froſt hath broken up every year. The poorer ſort of people who lay long in tents, &c. were much afflicted with the ſcurvy, and many died, eſpecially at Boſton and Charleſtown; but when this ſhip came and brought us good ſtores of juice of lemons, many recovered ſpeedily. It hath been always obſerved, that ſuch as fell into diſcontent, and lingered after their former condition in England, fell into the ſcurvy and died. 16

Captain Weldon, a hopeful young gentleman and a experienced ſoldier, died at Charleſtown of a conſumption, and was buried at Boſton, with a military funeral. 18

Of the elder planters and ſuch as came the year before, there were but two, and thoſe ſervants, which had the ſcurvy in all the country. At Plimouth not one had it, nor out of thoſe who came this year (whereof there were above ſixty). Whereas at their firſt planting time near the half of their people died of it.

A ſhallop of Mr. Glover's was caſt away upon the rocks, about Nahant, but the men were ſaved.

Of thoſe which went back in the ſhips this ſummer, for fear of death or famine, &c. many died by the way and after they were landed, and others fell very ſick and lean, &c.

The Ambroſe, whereof Captain Love was maſter, being new

1631. new maſted at Charleſtown, ſpent all her maſts near Newfoundland, and had periſhed, if Mr. Pierce, in the Lyon, who was her conſort, had not towed her home to Briſtol. Of the other ſhips which returned, 3, viz. the Charles, the Succeſs, and the Whale, were ſet upon by Dunkirkers, near Plimouth in England, and after a long fight, having loſt many men, and being much torn, eſpecially the Charles, they got into Plimouth.

Tonnage was at £.6 11. The proviſion which came to us this year, came at exceſſive rates, in regard of the dearneſs of corn in England, ſo as every buſhel of wheat meal ſtood us in fourteen ſhillings, peaſe eleven and ſix-pence, &c.

22 . We held a day of thankſgiving for this ſhip's arrival, by order from the Governor and Council directed to all the plantations.

March 16. About noon the chimney of Mr. Sharp's houſe in Boſton took fire (the ſplinters being not clayed at the top) and taking the thatch burnt it down, and the wind being N. W. drove the fire to Mr. Colburne's houſe, being rods off, and burnt that down alſo, yet they ſaved moſt of their goods.

23 . Chickatabot came with his ſannops and and ſquaws, and preſented the Governor with a buſhel of Indian corn. After they had all dined and had each a ſmall cup of ſacke and beer, and the men tobacco, he ſent away all his men and women, tho the Governor would have ſtayed them, in regard to the rain and thunder; himſelf and one ſquaw and one ſannop ſtayed all night, and being in Engliſh clothes, the Gov. ſet them at his own table, where he behaved himſelf as ſoberly, &c. as an Engliſhman. The next day after dinner he returned here, the Governor giving him cheeſe and peaſe and a mug and ſome other ſmall things.

26 John Sagamore and James his brother, with divers ſannops came to the Governor to deſire his letter for recovery of 20 beaver ſkins which one Watts in England had forced him of. The Governor entertained them kindly and gave them his letter with directions to Mr. Dunning in England &c.

The night before alarm was given in divers of the plantations; it aroſe thro the ſhooting off ſome pieces at Watertown by occaſion of a calf which had loſt, and the ſoldiers were ſent out with their pieces to ſearch the wilds from thence till they might find it.

29 Sir Richard Saltonſtall and his two daughters and one of his younger ſons (his two eldeſt ſons remained ſtill in the country) came down to Boſton and ſtayed that night at the Governors, and the next morning by 7 of the clock, accompanied with Mr.

Pierce

Pierce and others in two ſhallops, they departed to go to their ſhip riding at Salem [This ſhip ſet ſail from Salem April 1, and arrived at London, all ſafe, April 29]. The Governor gave them three ducks at their ſetting ſail, the wind being N. W. a ſtiff gale and full ſea. Mr. Sharpe went away at the ſame time in another ſhallop. 1631.

About 10 of the clock Mr. Coddington and Mr. Wilſon and divers of the congregation met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilſon praying and exhorting the congregation to love &c. commended to them the exerciſe of prophecy in his abſence and deſigned thoſe whom he thought moſt fit for it (viz) the Governor, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Newell the elder; then he deſired the Governor to commit himſelf and the reſt to God by prayer, which being done, they accompanied him to the boat, and ſo they went over to Charleſton to go by land to the ſhip.

The beginning of this month we had very much rain and warm weather. It is a general rule that when the wind blows 12 hours in any part of the Eaſt it brings rain or ſnow in great abundance. April.

Wahquimacut, a ſachem upon the river Quonehtacut which lies W. of Naraganſet, came to the Governor at Boſton, with John Sagamore and Jack Strame (an Indian which had lived in England and had ſerved Sir Walter Raleigh and was now turned Indian again) and divers of their ſannops, and brought a letter to the Governor from Mr. Endicot to this effect; that the ſaid Wahquimacut was very deſirous to have ſome Engliſhmen come plant in his country, and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty ſkins of beaver, and that the country was very fruitful, and wiſhed that there might be two men ſent with him to ſee the country. The Governor entertained them at dinner, but would ſend none with him. He diſcovered after, that the ſaid Sachem is a very treacherous man and at war with the Pekoath (a far greater Sagamore): his country is at about five days journey from us by land. 4

At a court holden at Boſton (upon information to the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of a teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endicot to this effect; that whereas Mr. Williams had refuſed to join with the churches at Boſton, becauſe they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they tarried there; and beſides had declared his opinion that the magiſtrate might not puniſh the breach of the ſabbath nor any other offence that was a breach of the firſt table; and therefore they marvelled they would chooſe him without adviſing with the council, and 12

1631. withal desiring him that he would forbear to proceed until they had considered about it.

13 Chickatabot came to the Governor, and desired to buy some English cloths for himself. The Governor told him that English Sagamores did not use to truck, but he called his taylor and gave him order to make him a suit of clothes, whereupon he gave the governor two large skins of coat beaver, and after he and his men had dined he departed, and said he would come again three days after for his suit.

14. An order was made that no man should discharge a piece after sunset, except by occasion of alarm.

15 Chickatabot came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot, and after he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed.

21 The house of Jo. Page of Watertown was burnt by carrying a few coals from one house to another, a coal fell by the way and kindled in the leaves.

One Sir Christopher Gardiner, knight of the Golden being accused to have two wives in England, was sent for, but he had intelligence and escaped, and travelled up and down among the Indians about a week, but by means of the Governor of Plimouth, he was taken about Namascut, and brought to Plimouth, and from thence he was brought by Capt. Un-

May 4. derhill and his Lieut. Dudley to Boston.

16 There was an alarm given to all our towns in the night by occasion of a piece which was shot off, (but where could not be known) and the Indians having sent us word the day before that the Mohawks were coming down against them and us.

17 A general court at Boston, the former Governor was chosen again and all the freemen of the commons were sworn to the government. At noon, Cheeseburrows house was burnt down, all the people being present.

27 There came from Virginia into Salem a pinnace of 18 tons, laden with corn and tobacco, she was bound to the Northward, and put in here by foul weather; she sold her corn at 10/ the bushel.

June 14. At a court Jo. Sagamore and Chickatabot being told at last court of some injuries that their men did to our cattle, and giving consent to make satisfaction &c. now one of their men was complained of for shooting a pig, for which Chickatabot was ordered to pay a small skin of beaver, which he presently paid.

At

At this court one Philip Ratlif a ſervant of Mr. Cradock, being convict ore tenus of moſt foul ſcandalous invectives againſt our churches and government, was cenſured to be whipped, loſe his ears, and be baniſhed the plantation, which was preſently executed. 1631.

There came a ſhallop from Piſcataqua which brought news of a ſmall Engliſh ſhip come thither with proviſions and ſome Frenchmen to make ſalt. By this boat Capt Neal, Governor of Piſcataqua ſent a packet of letters to the Governor, directed to Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner, which when the Governor had opened he found it came from Sir Ferdinand Gorges (who claims a great part of the bay of Maſſachuſetts). In the packet was one letter to Thomas Morton (ſent priſoner before into England upon the Ld. Chief Juſtice's Warrant) by both which letters it appeared that he had ſome ſecret deſign to recover his pretended right, and that he repoſed much truſt in Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner. Theſe letters were opened becauſe they were directed to one who was our priſoner and had declared himſelf an ill willer to our government. 25

There came to the Governor Capt. S of Dorcheſter, and brought letters out of the White Angel which was lately arrived at Sauco; ſhe brought cows, goats and hogs, and much proviſions for the Bay and for Plimouth. Mr. Allerton returned in this ſhip, and by him we heard that the Friendſhip which put out from Barnſtable weeks before the Angel, was forced home again by extremity of foul weather, and ſo had given over her voyage. This ſhip the Angel ſet ſail from 27

The Governor built a bark at Miſtick, which was launched this day, and called the Bleſſing of the Bay. July 4.

A ſmall ſhip of 60 tons arrived at Nataſcott Mr. Graves maſter, ſhe brought ten paſſengers from London, they came with a patent to Sagadahock, but not liking the place, they came hither. This ſhip drew 10 feet and went up to Watertown, ſhe run on ground twice by the way. Theſe were the company called the huſbandmen, the ſhip called the plough; moſt of them proved familiſts and vaniſhed away. 6

Canonicus, ſon to the great Sachem of Naraganſet, came to the Governor's houſe with Jo. Sagamore, after they had dined he gave the Governor a ſkin, and the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot, which he took very thankfully and ſtayed all night. 13

The Ship called the Friendſhip of Barnſtable arrived at Boſton, after ſhe had been at ſea 11 weeks, and beaten back again by foul weather. She ſet ſail from Barnſtable again about 14

the

1631. the middle of May; ſhe landed here eight heifers and one calf and five ſheep.

The White Angel came into the bay; ſhe landed here 21 heifers.

21 The Governor and deputy and Mr. Newell the elder of the congregation at Boſton went to Watertown to conſer with Mr. Philips, the paſtor, and Mr. Brown, the elder of the congregation there, about an opinion which they had publiſhed that the churches of Rome were the true churches. The matter was debated before many of both congregations, and by the approbation of all the aſſembly except three, was concluded an error.

29 The Friendſhip ſet ſail for Chriſtopher Iſlands, and ran on ground behind C——Iſland.

30 The White Angel fell down for Plimouth, but the wind not favouring ſhe came to an anchor by Long-Iſland, and ran on ground a week after, near Gurnett's noſe.

Mr Ludlow in digging the foundation of his houſe at Dorcheſter, found two pieces of French money, one was coined in 1596, they were in ſeveral places above a foot within the firm ground.

Aug. 8. The Torentines to the number of one hundred, came in 30 canoes, and in the night aſſaulted the wigwam of the Sachem of Agawam, by———and ſlew ſeven men, and wounded John Sagamore and James and ſome others (whereof ſome died after) and rifled a Wigwam where Mr. Cradock's men kept to catch ſturgeon, took away their nets and biſcuit, &c.

A ſmall bark of Salem, of about 12 tons, coming towards the bay, Jo. Elſton and two of Mr. Cradock's fiſhermen being in her, and two tons of ſtone, and three barrels of train oil, was overſet in a guſt, and being buoyed up by the oil, ſhe floated up and down till then, when a boat coming by eſpied
19 them and ſaved them. The Plough returned to Charleſtown after ſhe had been on her way to the C———Iſlands, about three weeks, and was ſo broke ſhe could not return here.

31 The Governor's bark, called the Bleſſing of the Bay, being of 30 tons, went to ſea.

Sep. 6. The White Angel ſet ſail from Marble Harbour. About this time laſt year, the company here ſet forth a pinnace to the parts about Cape Cod, to trade for corn, and it brought here about 80 bus. This year again the Salem pinnace, being bound hither for corn, was, by contrary winds, put into Plimouth, where the Governor, &c. fell out, not only forbidding them to trade, but alſo telling them that they would oppoſe them by force, even to the ſpending of their lives, &c. whereupon

upon they returned and acquainting the Governor of Maſſachuſetts with it, he wrote to the Governor of Plimouth this letter here inſerted, with their anſwer which came about a month after.* 1631.

The wolves did much hurt to calves and ſwine between Charles River and Miſtick.

At the laſt court a young fellow was whipped for ſoliciting an Indian ſquaw to incontinency: her huſband and ſhe complained of the injury, and were Preſent at the execution, and very well ſatisfied. At the ſame court one Henry Lincon was whipped and baniſhed for writing letters into England, full of ſlander againſt our government, and orders of our churches.

Mr. Shark of Pennaquid ſent home James Sagamore's wife, who had been taken away at the ſurprize at Agawam, and wrote that the Indians demanded fathom of wampampeague and ſkins for her remiſſion. 17

At a court one Joſias Playſtone and two of his ſervants were cenſured for ſtealing corn from Chickatabot and his men, who were preſent, the maſter to reſtore two fold, and to be degraded from the title of a gentleman, and fined five pounds, and his men to be whipped. 27

The Bleſſing went on a voyage to the eaſtward. Oct. 4.

The Governor being at his farm houſe at Miſtick, walked out after ſupper and took a piece in his hand, ſuppoſing he might ſee a wolf (for they came daily about the houſe, and killed ſwine and calves, &c.) and being about half a mile off, it grew ſuddenly dark, ſo as in coming home he miſtook his path, and went till he came to a little houſe of Sagamore John, which ſtood empty; there he ſtayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket (for he always carried about his match and compaſs, and in the former there ſpake need) he made a good fire and warmed the houſe, and lay down upon ſome old matts which he found there, and ſo ſpent the night, ſometimes walking by the fire, ſometimes ſinging pſalms, and ſometimes getting wood, but could not ſleep. It was (thro God's mercy) a weary night, but a little before day it began to rain, and having no cloak, he made ſhift by a long pole to climb up into the houſe. In the morning there came thither an Indian ſquaw, but perceiving her before ſhe had opened the door, he barred her out, yet ſhe ſtayed there a great while eſſaying to get in, and at laſt ſhe went away, and he returned ſafe home, his ſervant having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and ſhot off pieces and hollooed in the night, but he heard them not. 11

The

* *This letter is not inſerted.* Edit.

1631. The Governor received a letter from Capt. Wiggin of Piſcataqua, informing him of a murder committed the 3d of this
22 month at Richman's iſle, by an Indian Sagamore, called Squid Rapſet and his company, upon one Walter Bagnell, called Great Walter, and one Jo. W who kept with him, they having killed them, burnt the houſe over them, and carried away their guns and what elſe they liked: he perſuaded the Governor to ſend 20 men preſently to take revenge, but the Governor adviſing with ſome of the Council, thought beſt to ſet ſtill a while, partly becauſe he heard that Capt. Neale &c. were gone after them, and partly becauſe of the ſeaſon (it being then froſt and ſnow) and want of boots fit for that expedition. This Bagnell was ſometimes ſervant to one in the Bay, and theſe three years had dwelt alone in the ſaid iſle, and had gotten about 400l. intereſt in government; he was a wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians.

25 The Governor, with Capt. Underhill and other of the officers went on foot to Sagus, and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endicott, &c. and the 28th they returned to Boſton by the fort at Sagus river, and ſo over to Miſtick.

A plentiful crop.

30 The Governor having erected a building of ſtone at Miſtick, there came ſo violent a ſtorm of rain for twenty-four hours from the N. E. and S. E. as (it being not finiſhed, and laid with clay for want of lime) two ſides of it were waſhed down to the ground, and much harm was done to other houſes by that ſtorm.

Nov. 2. The ſhip Lyon Wm. Pierce, maſter, arrived at Nataſcot, there came in her the Governor's wife, and other of his children, and Mr. Eliot, a miniſter, and other families, being in all about 60 perſons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at ſea, and loſt none of their company but two children, whereof one was the Governor's daughter Anne, about one year and half old, who died about a week after they came to ſea.

3 The wind being contrary the ſhip ſtayed at Long-Iſland, but the Governor's ſon came on ſhore, and that night the Governor went to the ſhip and lay aboard all night, and the next morning the wind coming fair, ſhe came to an anchor before Boſton.

4 The Governor, his wife and children went on ſhore with Mr. Pierce in his ſhip boat, the ſhip gave them ſix or ſeven pieces. At their landing the Captains with their companies in arms entertained them with a guard and divers vollies of

ſhot,

shot, and three drakes;—and divers of the assistants and most of the people of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c. so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New-England: it was a great marvel that so much people and store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours warning. 1631.

We kept a day of thanksgiving at Boston. 11

The Governor of Plimouth came to Boston and lodged in the ship. 17

Mr. Pierce went down to his ship which lay at Nantascot. Divers went home with him into England by Virginia, as Sir Richard Saltonstall, his eldest son and others, and they were six weeks in going to Virginia. 23

The congregation at Watertown, whereof Mr. G. Philips was pastor, had chosen one Richard Brown for their elder before named, who persisting in his opinion of the truth of the Romish church, and maintaining other errors withal, and being a man of a very violent spirit, the court wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren to advise them to take into consideration whether Mr. Brown were fit to be continued their elder or not, to which, after some weeks, they returned answer to this effect;—That if we would take the pains to prove such things as were objected against him, they would undertake to redress them.

The congregation being much divided about their Elder, both parties repaired to the Governor for assistance, &c. whereupon he went to Watertown with the Deputy Governor and Mr. Nowel, and the congregation being assembled, the Governor told them, that being come to settle peace, &c. they might proceed in three distinct respects. 1 As the magistrates their assistance being desired. 2. As members of a neighbouring congregation. 3. Upon the answer which we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us. But the Pastor, Mr. Phillips, desired us to set with them as members of a neighbouring congregation only, whereto the Governor, &c. consented. Then the one side which had first complained, were noticed to exhibit their grievances; which they did to this effect. That they could not communicate with their elder, being guilty of errors, both in judgment and conversation; after much debate of these things, at length they were reconciled, and agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so to have a solemn writing, each party promising to reform what Dec. 8.

has

1632. has been amiſs, &c. and the paſtor gave thanks to God, and the aſſembly broke up.

Jan. 27. The Governor and ſome company with him went up by Charles River, about eight miles above Watertown, and named the firſt brook, on the North ſide of the river (being a fair ſtream and coming from a pond a mile from the river) Beaver Brook, becauſe the beavers had ſhorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams acroſs the brook. Thence they went to a great rock upon which ſtood a high ſtone cleft aſunder, that four men might go thro, which they called Adam's chair, becauſe the youngeſt of their company was Adam Winthrop. Thence they came to another brook, greater than the former, which they called Maſter's Brook, becauſe the eldeſt of their company was one John Maſters. Thence they came to another high pointed rock, having a fair aſcent on the Weſt ſide, which they called Mount Feake from one Robert Feake, who had married the Governor's daughter in law. On the Weſt ſide of Mount Feake they went by a very high rock from whence they might ſee all over Whipcutt, and a very high hill due Weſt about 40 miles off, and to the N. W. the high hills

Feb. 7. by Merrimack above 60 miles off.

The Governor, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Eliot and others, went over Miſtick river at Meadford, and going N. and by E. among the rocks about 2 or 3 miles, they came to a very great pond, having in the middle an Iſland of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and birch; and the pond had divers ſmall rocks, ſtanding up here and there in it, which they therefore called Spot Pond. They went all about it upon the ice. From hence towards the N. W. about 1-2 a mile, they came to the top of a very h gh rock, beneath which towards the N. lies a goodly plain, partly open land, and part woody, from whence there is a fair proſpect, but it being then cloſe and rainy, they could ſee but a ſmall diſtance. This place they called Cheeſe Rock, becauſe when they went to eat ſomewhat, they had only cheeſe, the Governor's man forgetting, from haſte, to put up ſome bread.

14 The Governor and ſome other company went to view the country as far as Neponcett, and returned that night.

17 The Governor and aſſiſtants called before them at Boſton divers of Watertown; the paſtors and elder by letter, and the others by warrant. The occaſion was for that a warrant being ſent to Watertown for levying of 8l. part of a rate of 60l. ordered for the fortifying the new town; the paſtor and elder &c. aſſembled the people and deliver'd their opinions, that it was not ſafe to pay money after that ſort, for fear of bringing themſelves

themſelves into bondage, being come before the governor and council, after much debate they acknowledged their fault confeſſing freely that they were in an error, and made a retraction and ſubmiſſion under their hands, and were injoyned to read it in the aſſembly the next Lords day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and aldermen, who have not power to make laws or raiſe taxations without the people; but underſtanding that this government was rather in the nature of a Parliament, and that no aſſiſtant could be choſen but by the freemen, who had power likewiſe to remove the aſſiſtants and put in others, and therefore at every general court (which was to be holden once every year) they had free liberty to conſider and propound any thing concerning the ſame, and to declare their grievances without being ſubject to queſtion, &c. they were fully ſatisfied, and ſo their ſubmiſſion was accepted, and their offence pardoned. 1632.

The firſt court after winter; it was ordered, that the courts (which before were every three weeks) ſhould now be held the firſt Tueſday in every month. Commiſſioners appointed to ſet out the bounds of the towns. March 5.

The bark Warwick, arrived at Nataſcott, having been at Piſcataqua, and at Salem to ſell corn which ſhe brought from Virginia. At her coming into Nataſcott, with a S. E. wind ſhe was in great danger, by a ſudden guſt, to be caſt away upon the rocks, 19th. She came to Winyſemett. 14

Mr. Maverick one of the Miniſters of Dorcheſter, in drying a little powder, which took fire by the heat of the fire pan, fired a ſmall barrel of 2 or 3 lb. yet did no other harm but ſinged his clothes. It was in the new meeting-houſe, which was thatched, and the thatch only blacked a little.

At a court at Boſton, the deputy Mr. Dudley, went away before the court was ended, and then the ſecretary delivered the Governor a letter from him directed to the Governor and aſſiſtants, wherein he declared a reſignation of his deputyſhip and place of aſſiſtant, but it was not allowed. At this court an act was made expreſſing the Governors power, and the office of Secretary and Treaſurer, &c. April 3.

The bark Warwick, and Mr. Maverick's pinnace went out towards Virginia. 9

The Governor received letters from Plymouth ſignifying that there had been a broil between their men at Sowamſet and the Naraganſet Indians, who ſet upon the Engliſh houſe there, to have taken Owſamequin the Sagamore of Packanoſcott, who was fled thither with all the people for refuge; and that Capt. 12

1632. Standiſh being gone thither to relieve the three Engliſh which were in the houſe, ſent home in all haſte for more men and other proviſions, upon intelligence that Canonicus, with a great army was coming againſt them; withal they wrote to our Governor for ſome powder, to be ſent with all poſſible ſpeed (for it ſeemed they were unfurniſhed). Upon this the Governor preſently diſpatched away the meſſenger with ſo much powder
16 as he could carry, viz. 27lb.—The meſſenger returned and brought a letter from the Governor, ſignifying that the Indians were retired from Sowamſett to fight with the Pequins, which was probable, becauſe John Sagamore and Chickatabott were gone with all their men to Canonicus who had ſent for them.

A wear was erected by Watertown men, upon Charles River three miles above the town, where they took great ſtore of ſhad.

May 1. The Governor and aſſiſtants met at Boſton to conſider of the Duputy his deſerting his place. The points diſcuſed were two. The firſt, upon what grounds he did it. 2d. whether it were good or void. For the 1ſt. his main reaſon was for public peace, for he muſt needs diſcharge his conſcience in ſpeaking freely, and he ſaw that bred diſturbance. For the 2d. it was maintained by all that he could not to leave his place, except by the ſame power which put him in; yet he could not be put from his contrary opinion, nor would be perſuaded to continue till the general court, which was to be the 8th of this month.

Another queſtion fell out with him about ſome bargains he had made with ſome poor men, members of the ſame congregation, to whom he had ſold 7 buſhels and an half of corn to receive ten for it after harveſt, which the Governor and ſome others held to be oppreſſive uſury, and within the compaſs of the ſtatute, but he perſiſted to maintain it to be lawful, and there aroſe hot words about it, he telling the Governor that if he had thought he had ſent for him to his houſe to give him ſuch uſage he would not have come there, and that he never knew any man of underſtanding, of other opinion, and that if the Governor thought otherwiſe of it, it was his weakneſs. The Governor took notice of theſe ſpeeches and bore them with more patience than he had done upon a like occaſion at another time. Upon this there aroſe another queſtion about his houſe. The Governor having freely told him that he did not well to beſtow ſo much coſt about wainſcoting and adorning his houſe in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the neceſſity of public charges, and for example. His anſwer now was, that it was for the warmth of his houſe, and the charge was little, being but clapboards nailed to the walls in form of wainſcot.

ſcot. Theſe and other ſpeeches paſſed before dinner. After dinner the Governor told him that he had heard that the people intended at the next general court to deſire that the aſſiſtants might be choſen anew every year, and that the Governor might be choſen by the whole court and not by the aſſiſtants only. Upon this Mr. Ludlow grew into paſſion, and ſaid that then we ſhould have no government, but there would be an interim wherein every man might do what he pleaſed. This was anſwered and cleared in the judgment of the reſt of the aſſiſtants, but he continued ſtiff in his opinion, and proteſted he would then return back into England. 1632.

Another queſtion fell out, which was this. Mr. Clark of Watertown had complained to the Governor, that Captain Patrick being removed out of their town to Newtown, did compel them to watch near Newtown, and deſired the Governor that they might have the ordering within their own town. The Governor anſwered him, that the ordering of the watch did proporly belong to the conſtable, but in thoſe towns where the Captains dwelt, they had thought fit to leave it to them, and ſince Captain Patrick was removed, the conſtable might take care of it, but adviſed him withal to acquaint the deputy with it, and at the court it ſhould be ordered. Clark went right home and told the Captain that the Governor had ordered that the conſtable ſhould ſet the watch, (which was falſe) but the Captain anſwered ſomewhat raſhly, and like a ſoldier, which being certified to the Governor by three witneſſes, he ſent a warrant to the conſtable to this effect,—that whereas ſome difficulty was fallen out, &c. about the watch, &c. he ſhould according to his office, ſee due watch ſhould be kept till the court had taken order in it. This much diſpleaſed the Captain, who came to this meeting to have it redreſſed. The Governor told the reſt what he had done, and upon what ground, whereupon they refuſed to do any thing in it till the court.

A Dutch ſhip brought from Virginia, 2000 buſhels of corn, which was ſold at 4s. 6d. the buſhel.

While they were thus ſitting together, an Indian brings a letter from Captain Standiſh then at Swanſett, to this effect, that the Dutchmen (which lay for trading at Anyganſett or Naraganſett) had lately informed him that many Pequins (who were profeſſed enemies to the Naraganſetts), had been there divers days and adviſed us to be watchful, &c. giving other reaſons, &c.—Thus the day was ſpent and no good done, which was the more uncomfortable to moſt of them, becauſe they had recommended this meeting to God in more earneſt manner than ordinary at other meetings.

1632. May 8 A general court at Boſton.—Whereas it was at our firſt coming, agreed that the freemen ſhould chooſe the aſſiſtants and they the Governor. The whole court agreed now, that the Governor and aſſiſtants ſhould all be new choſen every year by the general court (the Governor to be always choſen out of the aſſiſtants) and accordingly the old Governor John Winthrop was choſen, accordingly all the reſt as before, and Mr. Humphry and Mr. Coddington, becauſe they were daily expected.

The Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley Eſq. having ſubmited the validity of his reſignation to the vote of the court, it was adjudged a nullity, and he accepted of his place again, and the Governor and he being reconciled the day before, all things were carried very lovingly amongſt all, and the people carried themſelves with much ſilence and modeſty.

John Winthrop the Governor's ſon was choſen an aſſiſtant.

A propoſition was made by the people that every company of train-men might chooſe their own Captain and officers, but the Governor giving them reaſons to the contrary, they were ſatisfied with it.

Every town may chooſe two men to be at the next court to adviſe with the Governor and aſſiſtants about the raiſing of a public ſtock, ſo as what they ſhould agree upon ſhould bind all &c. The Governor among other things uſed this ſpeech to the people after he had taken his oath,—That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had alſo received many kindneſſes from particular perſons, which he would not refuſe, leaſt he ſhould be accounted uncourteous &c. but he expreſſed that he received them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's rule, and the conſciouſneſs of his own inconformity, and therefore defired them that hereafter they would not take it ill if he did refuſe preſents from particular perſons, except they were from the aſſiſtants, or from ſpecial friends, &c. to which no anſwer was made, but he was told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place.

24 The fortification upon the Corn Hill at Boſton was begun.

25 Charleſtown men came and wrought upon the fortification. Roxbury the next, and Dorcheſter the next.

26 The Whale arrived with Mr. Wilſon, Mr. Drummer and about 30 paſſengers all in health, and of 70 cows loſt but 2. She came from Hampton, April 8th. Mr. Greaves was Maſter.

June 5 The William and Francis, Mr. Thomas, Maſter, with about 60 paſſengers, whereof Mr. Wilde and old Mr. Batche-

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lor, being aged 71, were with their families, and many other honeſt men. Alſo the Charles of Barnſtable, with near 80 cows and 6 mares, Mr. Hatherly the merchant, and about 20 paſſengers, all ſafe, and in health. They ſet ſail, viz. the William and Francis from London, March the 9th. and the Charles from Portſmouth April 10th, and met near Cape Anne. Mr. Winſlow of Plimouth came in the William and Francis. 1632.

The James Mr. Grant maſter, arrived, her paſſage was 8 weeks from London. He brought 60 heifers and loſt 40, and brought twelve paſſengers. 12

A day of thankſgiving in all the plantations by public authority, for the good ſucceſs of the King of Sweeden and proteſtants in Germany, againſt the Emperor, and for the ſafe arrival of all the ſhips, they having not loſt one perſon, nor one ſick among them. 13

The French came in a pinnace to Penobſcott and rifled a trucking houſe belonging to Plimouth, carrying thence 300 weight of beaver and other goods.

One Abraham Sheert of Penaquid, and one Captain Wright and others coming to Piſcataquack, being bound for this Bay in a ſhallop with 200l. worth of commodities, one of the ſeamen going to light a pipe of tobacco, ſet fire on a barrel of powder which tore the bark in pieces, that man was never ſeen, the reſt were all ſaved, but the goods loſt.

A ſhallop of one Henry Waye of Dorcheſter having been miſſing all the winter, it was found that the men in her (being five) were all killed treacherouſly by the eaſtern Indians. Another ſhallop of his being ſent out to ſeek out the other, was caſt away at Aquawaticus, and two of the men drowned. A fiſhing ſhallop at Iſle of ſhoals was overſet. One Noddle an honeſt man of Salem, running wood in a canoe, in the South River was overturned and drowned.

The man that was blown away with the powder, in the boat at Piſcataq, was after found with his hands and feet torn off. This fellow being wiſhed by another to forbear to take any tobacco, till they came to the ſhore, which was hard by, anſwered that if the Devil ſhould carry him away quick, he would take one pipe; ſome in the boat were ſo drunk and faſt aſleep, as they did not awake with the noiſe.

At a training at Watertown, a man of John Alden's, having a muſket which had been long charged with piſtol bullets, and knowing of it, gave fire, and ſhot three men, two into their bodies and one into his hand, but it was ſo far off, as the ſhot entered the ſkin and ſtayed there, and they all recovered. July.

The

1632. The congregation of Boſton wrote to the elders and brethren of the churches of Plimouth, Salem, &c. for their advice in three queſtions. 1. Whether one perſon might be a civil magiſtrate and a ruling elder at the ſame time? 2. If not, then what ſhould be beſt done? 3. Whether there might be divers paſtors in the ſame church. The 1 was agreed by all negatively; the 2 doubtful, the 3. doubtful alſo.—

The ſtrife in Watertown congregation continued ſtill, but at length they gave the ſeparatiſts a day to come in, or all to
5 be proceeded againſt. 5. At the day they all came in and ſubmitted, except John Maſters, who, tho he was adviſed by divers miniſters and others, that he had offended in turning his back upon the ſacrament, and departing out of the aſſembly, &c. becauſe he had then admitted a member whom he judged unfit, &c. He perſiſted, ſo the congregation (being loth to proceed againſt him), gave him a further day, at which time, he continuing obſtinate, they excommunicated him, but about a fortnight after he ſubmitted himſelf and was received in again.

At Watertown there was, in the view of divers witneſſes, a great combat between a mouſe and a ſnake, and after a long fight the mouſe prevailed and killed the ſnake. The miniſter of Boſton, Mr. Wilſon, a very ſincere holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation:—That the ſnake was the devil, the mouſe was a poor contemptible people which God had brought hither, which ſhould over-come ſatan here, and diſpoſſeſs him of his kingdom. Upon the ſame occaſion he told the Governor, that before he was reſolved to come into the country, he dreamed he was here, and that he ſaw a church ariſe out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church.

After many importunings and days of humiliation by thoſe of Boſton and Roxbury, to ſeek the Lord for Mr. Wilde his diſpoſing, and the advice of thoſe of Plimouth being taken, &c. at length he reſolved to ſit down with them of Roxbury.

Aug. 3. The deputy, Mr. Thomas Dudley being ſtill diſcontented with the Governor, partly for that the Governor had removed the frame of his houſe which he had ſet up at Newtown, and partly for that he took too much authority upon him (as he conceived) renewed his complaints to Mr. Wilſon and Mr. Wilde, who acquainting the Governor therewith, a meeting was agreed upon at Charleſtown, where were preſent, the Governor and deputy, Mr. Noell, Mr. Wilſon, Mr. Wilde, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham. The conferrence being begun with calling upon the Lord, the deputy begun,—that however he had ſome public grievances, yet ſeeing he was adviſed by thoſe

preſent

preſent, and divers of the aſſiſtants, to be ſilent in them, he would let them paſs, and ſo come firſt to complain of the breach of promiſe, both in the Governor and others, in not building at Newtown. The Governor anſwered that he had performed the words of the promiſe, for he had a houſe up, and ſeven or eight ſervants abiding in it by the day appointed; and for the removing of his houſe he alledged, that ſeeing that the reſt of the aſſiſtants went not about to build, and that his neighbours of Boſton had been diſcouraged from a moving thither by Mr. Deputy himſelf, and thereupon had, under all their hands, petitioned him; according to the promiſe he had made to them when they firſt ſat down with him at Boſton, (viz) that he would not remove except they went with him, he would not leave them: which was the occaſion that he removed his houſe. Upon theſe and other ſpeeches to this purpoſe, the miniſters went apart for one hour, then returning, they delivered their opinion, that the Governor was in fault for removing his houſe ſo ſuddenly without confering with the deputy and the reſt of the aſſiſtants; but if the deputy were the occaſion of diſcouraging Boſton-men from removing, it would excuſe the Governor *a quanto* but not *a tanto*. The Governor profeſſing himſelf willing to ſubmit his opinion to the judgment of ſo many wiſe and Godly friends, acknowledged himſelf faulty. After dinner the deputy proceeded in his complaint, yet with this proteſtation, that what he ſhould charge the Governor with, was in love, and out of his care of the public, and that the things he ſhould produce were but for his own ſatisfaction, and not by way of accuſation. Then he demanded of him the ground and limits of his authority, whether by the patent or otherwiſe? The Governor anſwered, that he was willing to ſtand to that which he propounded, and would challenge no greater authority than he might by the patent. The deputy replied, that then he had no more authority than every aſſiſtant (except power to call courts and proceedings for honor and order). The Governor anſwered he had more, for the patent making him a Governor, gave him whatſoever power belonged to a Governor by common law or the ſtatutes, and deſired him to ſhew wherein he had exceeded, &c. Speaking this ſomewhat apprehenſively, the deputy began to be in a paſſion, and told the Governor that if he was ſo round, he would be round too. The Governor bad him be round if he would, ſo the deputy roſe up in great paſſion and fury, and the Governor grew very hot alſo, ſo as they both fell into bitterneſs, but by mediation of the mediators they were both ſoon pacified; then the deputy proceeded to particulars, as followeth: 1ſt. By what authority

1632.

1632. rity the Governor removed the ordinance and erected a fort at Boſton? The Governor anſwered, that the ordinance lying upon the beach in danger of ſpoiling, and having often com-
Auguſt. plained of it in the court, and nothing done, with the help of divers of the aſſiſtants, they were mounted upon their carriages and removed where they might be of ſome uſe: and for the fort, it had been agreed above a year before, that it ſhould be erected there, and all this was done without any penny charge to the public. 2d. By what authority he lent 28lb. powder to thoſe of Plimouth? Governor's anſwer.—It was of his own powder, and upon their urgent diſtreſs, their own powder proving naught when they were to ſend to the reſt of their men at Sowamſett. 3d. By what authority he had licenſed Edward Johnſon to ſet down at Merrimack? Governor's anſwer. That he had licenſed him only to go forth on trading (as he had divers others) as belonging to his place. 4. By what authority he had given them at Watertown leave to erect a wear upon Charles-river, and had diſpoſed of lands to divers? Governor's anſwer. The people of Watertown falling very ſhort of corn the laſt year, for want of fiſh, did complain, and deſired leave to erect a wear, and upon this the Governor told them, that he could not give them leave, but they muſt ſeek it of the court, but becauſe it would be long before the courts began again, and if they deferred till then, the ſeaſon would be loſt, wiſhed themto do it, and there was no doubt, but being for ſo general a good, the court would allow of it, and for his part he would employ all his power in the court, ſo as he ſhould ſink under it, if it were not allowed; and beſides, thoſe of Roxbury had erected a wear without any licenſe from the court: and for lands, he had not diſpoſed any, otherwiſe than the deputy and other of the aſſiſtants had done, he had only given his conſent, and refered them to the court: But the deputy had taken more upon him, in that, without order of the court, he had impaled at Newtown above 1000 acres, and had aſſigned lands to ſome there. 5th. By what authority he had given licenſe to Ratcliff and Grey (being baniſhed men) to ſtay within our limits? Governor's anſwer. He did it by that authority which was granted him in court, viz. That upon any ſentence in criminal cauſes, the Governor might, upon cauſe, ſtay the execution till the next court,—now the cauſe was, that being in the winter they muſt otherwiſe have periſhed. 6th. Why the fines were not levied? Governor's anſwer. It belonged to the ſecretary and not to him, he never refuſed to ſign any that were brought to him; nay, he had called upon the ſecretary for it; yet he confeſſed that it

was

was his judgment, that it were not fit in the infancy of a Com- 1632.
monwealth to be too ſtrict in levying fines, tho ſevere in other puniſhments.

The deputy having made an end, the Governor deſired the mediators to conſider, whether he had exceeded his authority or not, and how little cauſe the deputy had to charge him with it; for if he had made ſome ſlips in two or three years government, he ought rather to have covered them, ſeeing he could not be charged that he had taken advantage of his authority to oppreſs or wrong any man, or to benefit himſelf, but for want of a ſtock had diſburſed all common charges out of his own eſtate, whereas the deputy would never lay out one penny; and beſides that he could ſhew him, under his hand, that would convince him of a greater exceeding his authority, than all that the deputy could charge him with, viz. That whereas Binks and Johnſon were bound in open court, to appear at next court to account to &c. he had out of court, diſcharged them of their appearance. The deputy anſwered, that the party to whom they were to account, came to him and confeſſed that he was ſatisfied, and that the parties were to go to Virginia, ſo he thought he might diſcharge them. Though the Governor might juſtly have refuſed to anſwer theſe 7 articles wherewith the deputy had charged him, both for that he had no knowledge of them before (the meeting being only for the deputy his perſonal grievances) and alſo for that the Governor was not to give account of his actions to any but the court, yet out of his deſire of the public peace, and to clear his reputation with thoſe to whom the deputy had accuſed him, he was willing to give him ſatisfaction, to the end he might free him from ſuch jealoſies as he had conceived that the Governor intended to make himſelf popular, that he might gain abſolute power, and bring all the aſſiſtants under his ſubjection; which was very improbable, ſeeing the Governor had propounded in court to have an order eſtabliſhed for limiting the Governor's authority, and had himſelf drawn articles for that end which had been approved and eſtabliſhed by the whole court; neither could he juſtly be charged to have tranſgreſſed any of them. So the meeting breaking up without any other concluſion but the commending the ſucceſs of it by prayer to the Lord; the Governor brought the deputy onward his way, and every man went to his own home.

The Sachem who was joined with Canonicus the great ſach- Auguſt 5.
em of Naraganſett called Mecumeh, after Miantonomoh, being at Boſton where he had lodged two nights with his ſquaw and about 12 ſannops, being preſent at the ſermon, three of

1632. August. his ſannops went in the meantime and broke into a neighbouring houſe, &c. complaint being made thereof to the Governor, after evening exerciſe he told the ſachem of it, and with ſome difficulty, cauſed him to make one of his ſannops to beat them, and then ſent them out of the town, but brought the ſachem and the reſt of the company to his houſe, and made much of them (as he had done before) which they ſeemed to be well pleaſed with, but that evening he departed.

At a court not long before, two of Chickatabotts men were convened and convicted for aſſaulting ſome Engliſh of Dorcheſter in their houſes &c. They were put in the bilboes, and Chickatabot required to beat them, which he did.

The congregation of Boſton and Charleſtown begun the meeting houſe at Boſton, for which, and Mr. Wilſon's houſe they had made a voluntary contribution of about 120l.

14 Fair weather and ſmall wind, and N. E. at Boſton, and at the ſame time ſuch a tempeſt of wind a little without the bay, as no boat could bear ſail, and one had her maſt torn by the board. So again when there hath a very tempeſt at N. W. or W. in the bay, there hath been a ſtark calm one league or two off ſhore. This ſummer was very wet and cold, except now and then a hot day or two, which cauſed a great ſtore of muſketoes and rattle-ſnakes. The corn in dry ſandy ground was much better than other years, but in the flatter ground much worſe; and in Boſton &c. much ſhorn down cloſe by the ground with worms. The windmill was brought down to Boſton, becauſe when it ſtood near Watertown it would not grind but with a weſterly wind.

Mr. Pelham had a ſmall houſe near the wear at Watertown, made all of clapboards, burnt down by making a fire in it when it had no chimney.

This week they harveſted in barley and oats at Sagus above 20 acres good corn, and ſtrove with the plough.

Great ſtore of eels and lobſters in the bay; two or three boys have brought in a buſhel of great eels at a time, and 60 great lobſters.

The Braintree company which had began to ſit down at Mount Woolaſton by order of court, removed to Newtown. Theſe were Mr. Hooker's company.

20 The Governor's wife was delivered of a ſon who was baptized by the name of William, the Governor himſelf held the child to baptize, as others in the congregation did uſe. William ſignifies a common man.

30 Notice being given of ten Sagamores and many Indians aſſembled at Muddy River, the Governor ſent Capt. C——

with

with 20 muſketeers to diſcover, &c. but at Roxbury they heard they were broke up. 1632.

One Hopkins of Watertown was convicted for ſelling a piece and piſtol with powder and ſhot to James Sagamore, for which he had ſentence to be whipped and branded on the check. It was diſcovered by an Indian one of James's men, upon promiſe of concealing him, for otherwiſe he was ſure to be killed. Sept. 4.

The miniſters afterward, for an end of the difference between the Governor and deputy, ordered that the Governor ſhould procure them a miniſter at Newtown, and contribute ſome towards his maintenance for a time, or if he could not by the ſpring effect that, then to give the deputy towards his charges in building there 20l. The Governor accepted this order, and promiſed to perform it in one of the kinds. But the deputy having received one part of the order, returned the ſame to the governor, with his reaſon to Mr. Wilſon, that he was ſo well perſuaded of the Governor's love to him and did prize it ſo much, as if he had given him 100l. inſtead of 20l. he would not have taken it. Notwithſtanding the heat of contention which had been between the governornor and deputy, yet they peaceably met about their affairs, and that without any appearance of any breach or diſcontent, and ever after kept peace and good correſpondency together in love and friendſhip.

One Jenkins late an inhabitant at Dorcheſter, and now removed to Cape Porpus, went with an Indian up into the country with ſtore of goods to truck, and being a ſleep in a wigwam with one of Paſaconamy's men, was killed in the night by an Indian, dwelling near the Mohawk country, who made away with his goods, but was fetched back by Paſſaconamy's company. There was much ſuſpicion that the Indians had ſome plot againſt the Engliſh, both for that many Naraganſett men, &c. gathered together, who, with thoſe of theſe parts pretended to make war upon the Mipſett men, and divers inſolent ſpeeches were uſed by ſome of them, and they did not frequent our houſes as they were wont, and one of their pawawes told us that there was a conſpiracy to cut us off to get our victuals and other ſubſtance. Upon this there was a camp pitched at Boſton in the night, to exerciſe the ſoldiers againſt need might be; and Captain Underhill, to try how they would behave themſelves, cauſed an alarm to be given upon the quarters, which diſcovered the weakneſs of our people, who like men amazed, knew not how to behave themſelves, ſo as the officers could not draw them into any order. All the reſt of the plantations took the alarm and anſwered it, but it cauſed much

1632. much fear and diſtraction among the common ſort, ſo as ſome
which knew of it before, yet through fear had forgotten, and
Sept. believed the Indians had been upon us. We doubled our guards and watched each day and night.

14 The rumour ſtill increaſing, the three next ſagamores were ſent for, who came preſently to the Governor.

16 Being the Lord's day, in the evening Mr. Pierce, in the ſhip Lyon, arrived, and came to an anchor before Boſton. He brought 123 paſſengers, whereof 50 children, all in health and left not one perſon by the way, ſave his carpenter, who fell overboard as he was caulking a port. They had been twelve weeks aboard, and eight weeks from the lands end. He had 5 days E. wind and thick fog, ſo as he was forced to come all that time by his lead, and the firſt land he made was Cape Anne.

22 The Barnſtable ſhip, went out at Helens point to Marble Harbour.

27 A day of thankſgiving at Boſton for the good news of the proſperous ſucceſſion of the King of Sweeden, &c. and for the ſafe arrival of the laſt ſhip and all the paſſengers.

Oct. 18. Captain Camock and one Mr. Godfry, a merchant came from Piſcataquack in Captain Neale his pinnace, and brought 16 hogſheads of corn to the mill. They went away November.

25 The Governor with Mr. Wilſon, paſtor of Boſton, and the two Captains, &c. went aboard the Lyon, and from thence Mr. Pierce carried them in his ſhallop to Maſſagaſcus. The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ſhip, and the Governor and his company went on foot to Plimouth, and came thither within the evening. The Governor of Plimouth, Mr. William Bradford (a very diſcreet grave man) with Mr. Brewſter the Elder, and ſome others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's houſe, where they were kindly entertained, and feaſted every day at ſeveral houſes. On the Lord's day was a ſacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their caſtom) propounded a queſtion, to which the paſtor, Mr. Smith ſpake briefly, then Mr. Williams prophefied, and after the Governor of Plimouth ſpake to the queſtion: after him the elder, then ſome two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder deſired the Governor of Maſſachuſetts and Mr. Wilſon to ſpeak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the

the Governor and all the reſt went down to the deacon's ſeat and put into the bag, and then returned. 1632.

The wind N. W. Mr. Pierce ſet ſail for Virginia. Oct. 27.

Being Wedneſday, about 5 in the morning, the Governor and his company came out of Plimouth; the Governor of Plimouth with the paſtor and elder, &c. accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The Lieutenant Holmes with two others and the Governor's man, came along with them to the great ſwamp about 10 miles. When they came to the great river they were carried over by one Luddham their guide (as they had been when they came) the ſtream being very ſtrong and up to the crotch, ſo the Governor called that paſſage Luddham's ford. Then they came to a place called Hue's croſs, the Governor being diſpleaſed at the name, in reſpect that ſuch things might hereafter give the papiſts occaſion to ſay that their religion was firſt planted in theſe parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's folly: ſo they came that evening to Maſſagaſcus where they were bountifully entertained, as before with ſtore of turkies, geeſe, ducks, &c. and the next day came ſafe to Boſton. 31

About this time Mr. Dudley his houſe at Watertown was preſerved from burning down, and all his family from being diſtroyed by gun-powder, by a marvellous deliverance: The hearth of the hall chimney burning all night upon a principal and ſtore of powder being near, and not diſcovered till they aroſe in the morning, and then it began to flame out.

Mr. Jo. Eliot, a member of Boſton congregation, and one whom the company intended preſently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury, and tho Boſton laboured all they could, both with the congregation of Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himſelf, alledging their want of him, and the covenant between them &c. yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call of Roxbury, ſo he was diſmiſſed. About a fortnight before this, thoſe of Charleſtown, who had formerly been joined to Boſton congregation; now in regard of the difficulty of paſſage in the winter, and having opportunity of a paſtor,, one Mr. James who came over at this time, were diſmiſſed from the congregation of Boſton. The congregation of Watertown diſcharged their elder, Richard Brown, of his office for his unfitneſs in regard of his paſſion and diſtemper in ſpeech, having been often admoniſhed and declared his repentance for it. Nov 5.

The Governor received a letter from Capt. Neale, that D. Bull and 15 more of the Engliſh who kept about the eaſt, were turned pirates and had taken divers boats, and rifled Pennaquid 21

1632. quid, &c. Hereupon the Governor called a council, and it was agreed to ſend his bark with 20 men, to join with thoſe of Piſcataquack for the taking of the ſaid pirates.

Nov. 23. A faſt was held by the congregation of Boſton and Mr. Wilſon (formerly their teacher), was choſen paſtor, and —— Oliver a ruling elder, and both were ordained by impoſition of hands, firſt by the teacher, and then two deacons (in the name of the congregation) upon the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the paſtor.

Dec. 4. At a meeting of all the aſſiſtants, it was agreed, in regard that the extremity of the ſeaſon and froſt had hindered the making ready of the bark, and that they had certain intelligence that thoſe of Piſcataq. had ſent out two pinnaces and two ſhallops above a fortnight before, to defer any further expedition againſt the pirates till they heard what was done by thoſe; and for that end it was agreed to ſend preſently a ſhallop to Piſcataq. to learn news, &c. Accordingly the Governor diſpatched away Jo. Gallopp with his ſhallop, the wind being very great at S. W. he could reach no farther than Cape Anne harbour that night, and the wind blowing Northerly he was kept there ſo long that it was Jan. the 2d, before he returned. By letters from Capt. Neale, and Mr. Hilton, &c. it was certified that they had ſent out all the forces they could make againſt the pirates, viz. four pinnaces and ſhallops, and about 40 men, who coming to Pemaquid, were there wind bound about 3 weeks. It was further advertiſed by ſome that came from Penobſcott, that the pirates had loſt one of their chief men by a muſket ſhot from Pemaquid, and that there remained but 15, whereof four or five were detained againſt their wills, and that they had been at ſome Engliſh plantations, and taken nothing from them but what they paid for, and that they had given another pinnace in exchance for that of Mr. Maverick, and as much beaver and otter as it was worth more, &c.—and that they had made a law againſt exceſſive drinking, and that their order was, at ſuch times as other ſhips uſe to have prayer, they would aſſemble upon the deck, and one ſing a ſong or ſpeak a few ſenſeleſs ſentences, &c. They alſo ſent a writing directed to all the Governors, ſignifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen, but to go to the ſouthward and adviſe them not to ſend againſt them, for they were reſolved to ſtrike themſelves rather than be taken: Signed underneath fortune le garde, and no more to it.

1633 Jan. 9. Mr. Oliver a right godly man and elder of the church of Boſton, having three or four of his ſons, all very young, cutting down wood upon the rocks, one of them, being about

15

15 years old, had his brains beaten out with the fall of a tree which he had felled.—The good old father having the news of it in as fearful a manner as might be, by another boy his brother, called his wife (being alſo a very godly woman) and went to prayer; and bore it with much patience and honor. 1633. January.

The Governor having intelligence from the Eaſt, that the French had bought the Scottiſh plantation near Cape Sable, and that the fort and all the ammunition were delivered to them, and that the Cardinall having the managing thereof, had ſent ſome companies already, and preparations was made to ſend many more the next year, and divers prieſts and Jeſuits among them, called the aſſiſtants to Boſton, and the miniſters and captains and ſome other chiefmen, to adviſe what was fit to be done for our ſafety, in the regard the French were like to prove ill neighbours (being papiſts) at which meeting it was agreed, that a plantation and a fort ſhould forthwith be begun at Nataſcott, partly to be ſtone block in an enemie's way, tho it could not bar their entrance, and eſpecially to prevent an enemy from taking that paſſage from us, and alſo that the fort begun at Boſton ſhould be finiſhed. Alſo that a plantation ſhould be begun at Agawam (being the beſt place in the land for tillage and cattle) leſt an enemy finding it void, ſhould poſſeſs and take it from us. The Governor's ſon (being one of the aſſiſtants) was to undertake this, and to take no more out of the bay than twelve men, the reſt to be ſupplied at the coming of the next ſhips. 17

A maid ſervant of Mr. Skelton of Salem, going towards Sagus was loſt ſeven days, and at length came home to Salem. All that time ſhe was in the woods, having no kind of food, the ſnow being very deep, and as cold as at any time that winter. She was ſo frozen into the ſnow ſome mornings as ſhe was one hour before ſhe could get up, yet ſhe ſoon recovered and did well through the Lord's wonderful providence.

About the beginning of this month of January, the pinnaces which went after the pirates returned; the cold being ſo great as they could not purſue them, but in their return they hanged up at Richman's-iſle and Indian, one Black Will, one of thoſe who had there murdered Walter Bagnall. Three of the pirates company ran from them and came home.

Mr. Edward Winſlow choſen Governor of Plimouth, Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten years, and now by importunity got off. 21 Feb. 21

The Governor and four of the aſſiſtants, with three of the miniſters and others, about 26 in all, went in three boats to view

1633. February. view Nataſcott, the wind W. fair weather, but the wind aroſe at N. W. ſo ſtrong, and extreme cold that they were kept there two nights, being forced to lodge upon the ground in an open cottage upon a little old ſtraw, which they pulled from the thatch. Their victuals alſo grew ſhort, ſo as they were forced to eat muſkles; yet they were *very merry* and came all ſafe home the 3d day after, thro the Lord's *ſpecial providence*. Upon view of the place it was agreed by all, that to build a fort there, would be of too great charge, and of little uſe, whereupon the planting of that place was deferred.

22 Or thereabouts, the ſhip William Mr. Trevere, maſter, arrived at Plimouth with ſome paſſengers and goods for the Maſſachuſetts Bay, but ſhe came to ſet up a fiſhing at Scituate, and ſo to go to trade at Hudſon's river. By this ſhip we had intelligence from our friends in England, that Sir Ferdinand Georges and Capt. Maſon, upon the inſtigation of Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliff, had preferred a petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, againſt us, charging us with many falſe accuſations, but thro the Lord's good providence, and the care of our friends in England, eſpecially Mr. Downing, who had married the Governors ſiſter, and the good teſtimony given on our behalf by one Capt. Wiggin, who dwelt at Piſcat. and had been divers times among us, their malicious practice took not effect. The principal matter they had againſt us, was the letters of ſome indiſcreet perſons among us, who had written againſt the church government, &c. which had been intercepted by occaſion of the death of Capt. Levett, who carried them and died at ſea.

26 Two little girls of the Governor's family were ſitting under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the houſe, the Governor's wife cauſed them to remove away; they were no ſooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had cruſhed them to death, if the Lord, in his ſpecial providence, had not delivered them.

March The Governor's ſon Jo. Winthrop went with twelve men to begin a plantation at Agawam, after called Ipſwich.

One John Edye a Godly man of Watertown congregation, fell diſtracted, and getting out one evening, could not be found, but eight days after, he came again of himſelf. He had kept his ſtrength and colour, yet had eaten nothing (as muſt-needs be conceived) all that time. He recovered his underſtanding again in good meaſure, and lived very orderly, but would now and then be a little diſtempered.

April 10. There arrived Mr. Hodges one of Mr. Pierce his Mate. He came from Virginia in a ſhollop, and brought news that

Mr.

Mr. Pierce his ſhip was caſt away upon a ſhoal four miles from Feake Iſle, ten leagues to the N. of the mouth of Virginia bay, November 2d. about one in the morning, the wind S. W. thro the negligence of one of his mates who had the watch and kept not his lead as he was appointed. They had a ſhallop and their ſhip's boat aboard. All that went into the ſhallop came ſafe on ſhore, but the ſhip's boat was ſunk by the ſhip's ſide and men drowned in her, and ten of them were taken up alive into the ſhallop. There were in the ſhip 28 ſeamen and 10 paſſengers, of thoſe were drowned 7 ſeamen and 5 paſſengers, and all the goods were loſt except one hogſhead of beaver, and moſt of the letters were ſaved, and ſome other ſmall things which were driven on ſhore the next day when the ſhip was broken in pieces. They were 9 days in much diſtreſs before they found any Engliſh. Plimouth men loſt four* Hhds. of beaver and 200 otter ſkins. The Governor of Maſſachuſetts loſt in beaver and fiſh which he ſent to Virginia, &c. near 100l. many others loſt ſkins, and Mr. Humphry fiſh. 1633. April. * £900.

The William and James Mr. Bradock maſter arrived with 30 paſſengers and ten cows, one mare; ſhe came in ſix weeks from London. May.

The Mary and James arrived, Mr. Roſe maſter, ſhe came from London in ſeven weeks, and brought 196 paſſengers (only two children died). Mr. Coddington one of the aſſiſtants, and his wife, came in her. In her return ſhe was caſt away upon Iſle Sable, but men were ſaved. By theſe ſhips we underſtood that Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner and Thomas Morton and Philip Ratcliffe (who had been puniſhed here for their miſdemeanors) had petitioned to the King and Council againſt us, being ſet on by Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Captain Maſon, who had began a plantation at Piſcat. and aimed at the general government of N. England for their agent here Captain Neale. The petitions was of many ſheets of paper and contained many falſe accuſations (and among ſome, truths miſrepreſented) accuſing us to intend rebellion to have caſt off our allegiance, and to be wholly ſeparate from the church and laws of England. That our miniſters and people did continually rail againſt the ſtate, church and biſhops there, &c. Upon which ſuch of our company as were then in England (viz) Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Cradock, were called before a committee of the council to whom they delivered in an anſwer in writing. Upon reading whereof, it pleaſed the Lord, our gracious God and protector, ſo to work with the Lord's, and after with the King's majeſty, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Fermin

1633. May. one of the council (but not of the committe who had been present at the three days of hearing, and ſpake much in the commendation of the Governor both to the Lord's and after to his Majeſty) that he ſaid he would have them ſeverely puniſhed who did abuſe this government and the plantations, that the defendants were diſmiſſed with a favorable order,—for their encouragement being aſſured from ſome of the council that his Majeſty did not intend to impoſe the ceremonies of the church of England upon us; for that it was conſidered that it was the freedom from ſuch things that made people come over to us; and it was credibly informed to the council that this country would in time, be very beneficial to England for maſts, cordage, &c. if the ſound ſhould be debarred.

We ſent forth a pinnace after the pirate Bull, but after ſhe had been forth two months, ſhe came home having not found him. After, we heard he was gone to the French. A Dutch pink arrived here which had been to the Southward a trading.

June 2. Captain Stone arrived with a ſmall ſhip with cows and ſome ſalt. The Governor of Plimouth ſent Captain Standiſh to proſecute againſt him for piracy. The cauſe was began at the Dutch plantation, where a pinnace of Plimouth coming, and Captain Stone and the Dutch Governor having been drinking together, Capt Stone, upon pretence that thoſe of Plimouth had reproached them of Virginia from whence he came (with the Governor's conſent) ſeized upon their pinnace, and offered to carry her away, but the Dutchmen wreſted her, and the next day the Governor and Captain Stone intreated the maſter of the pinnace (being one of the council of Plimouth) to paſs it by, which he promiſed by a ſolemn inſtrument under his hand; yet upon his earneſt proſecution at court, we bound over Captain Stone, with two ſureties, to appear in the admiralty court in England. But after, thoſe of Plimouth being perſuaded that it would turn to their reproach, and that it would be no piracy, with their conſent, we withdrew the recognizancy.

Mr. Graves in the ſhip Eliz. bonadventure from Yarmouth,
15 arrived with 95 paſſengers, and 34 Dutch ſheep, and two mares. They came from Yarmouth in ſix weeks, loſt not one perſon but above 40 ſheep.

19 A day of thankſgiving was kept in all the congregations for our delivery from the plots of our enemies, and for the ſafe arrival of our friends, &c.

July 2. At a court it was agreed, that the Governor, John Winthrop, ſhould have towards his charges this year, 150l. and the money which he had diſburſed in public buſineſs, as officers wages, &c.

&c. being between two and three hundred pounds, ſhould be further paid. 1633.

Mr. Edward Winſlow, Governor of Plimouth, and Mr. Bradford came into the bay, and went away the 18th. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp; There was a motion to ſet up a trading houſe there, to prevent the Dutch who were about to build one, but in regard the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thouſand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by ſmall pinnaces, having a barr affording but ſix feet at high water, and for that no veſſels can get in for 7 months in the year, partly by reaſon of the ice, and then the violent ſtream, &c. we thought not fit to meddle with it. July 12.

A ſhip arrived from Waymouth, with about eighty paſſengers and 12 kine, which ſet down at Dorcheſter; they were 12 weeks coming, being forced into the Weſtern Iſlands by a leak, where they ſtayed three weeks, and were very courteouſly uſed by the Portugueſe, but the extremity of the heat there, and the continual rain, brought ſickneſs upon them, ſo as died. Much ſickneſs at Plimouth, and above twenty died of peſtilent fevers. Mr. Graves returned and carried a freight of fiſh from hence and Plimouth. By him the Governor and aſſiſtants ſent an anſwer to the petition of Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner, and withal a certificate from the old planters concerning the carriage of affairs, &c. 24

Two men ſervants to one Moodye, of Roxbury, returning in a boat from the Windmill, ſtruck upon the oyſter bank. They went out to gather oyſters, and not making faſt their boat when the flood came it floated away, and they were both drowned, altho they might have waded out on either ſide, but it was an evident judgment of God upon them, for they were wicked perſons: One of them a little before being reproved for his lewdneſs, and put in mind of hell, anſwered that if hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there than he would ſerve his maſter, &c. The occaſion was becauſe he had bound himſelf for divers years, and ſaw that if he had been at liberty he might have had greater wages, tho otherwiſe his maſter uſed him very well. Auguſt 6.

Mr. Graves returned, he carried between five and ſix thouſand weight of beaver, and about thirty paſſengers. Captain Walter Neale of Piſcat. and ſome eight of his company, went with him. He had been in the bay about ten days and came not all this time to ſee the Governor, being perſuaded by divers of his friends. His anſwer was, he was not well entertained the firſt time he came thither, and beſides he had ſome

letters

1633. August. letters opened in the Bay Government; except he were invited he would not go see him. The 13th day he wrote to the Governor, to excuse his not coming to see him, upon the same reasons. The Governor returned him answer, that his entertainment was such as time and place could afford (being at their first coming, before they were housed, &c.) and retorted the discourtesy upon him, in that he would thrust himself with such a company (he had five or six gentlemen with him) upon a strangers entertainment at such an unseasonable time, and having no need so to do; and for his letters he protested his innocency, as he might well, for the letters were opened before they came into the bay, and so concluded courteously, yet with plain demonstration of his error. And indeed if he courteously should have invited him, standing upon these terms, he had blemished his reputation.

There is mention made before of the answer, which was returned to Sir Christopher Gardiner his accusations, to which the Governor and all the assistants subscribed, only the deputy refused. He made three exceptions: 1st. For that we termed the bishops reverend bishops, which was only in repeating the accusations made.

2d. For that we professed to believe all the articles of the gospel faith according to the scriptures and the common received tenets of all the churches of England. This he refused, because we differed from them in matter of discipline, and about the meaning of Christs descent into hell,—that the faithful in England (whom we account the churches) expound it as we do, and not of a local descent as some of the bishops do. 3d. For that we gave the King the title of sacred Majesty, which is the most proper title of princes, and the word a mere civil word and never applied in scripture to any divine things, but *sanctus* used always. Mr. Knox called the In. of S—— by the same title; yet by no reasons could he be drawn to yield to these things, altho they were allowed by divers of the ministers and the chief of Plimouth.

There was great scarcity of corn by reason of the spoil our hogs had made at harvest, and the great quantity they had eaten in the winter (there being no acorns) yet people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens.

Sept. 4. The Griffin, a ship of 300 tons arrived, having been eight weeks from the Downes, she brought about 200 passengers, having lost some four. In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Goffe and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all

places

places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Hooker, who had been long ſought for to have been brought into the High Commiſſion, but the maſter being bound to touch at the Wight, the purſuants attended there, and the mean time the ſaid miniſters were taken in at the Downes. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went preſently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton ſtayed at Boſton.—One Sunday evening the Congregation met in their ordinary exerciſe, and Mr. Cotton being deſired to ſpeak to the queſtion (which was of the church)he ſhewed out of the canticles 6. that ſome churches were as queens, ſome as concubines, ſome as damſels and ſome as doves, &c. he was then, with his wife propounded to be admitted a member the Lord's day following; he exerciſed in the afternoon, and being to be admitted, he ſignified his deſire and readineſs to make his confeſſion according to order, which he ſaid might be ſufficient in declaring his faith about baptiſm, which he then deſired for his child born in their paſſage, and therefore named Seaborn. He gave two reaſons why he did not baptiſe it at ſea (not for want of freſh water, for he held, ſea water would have ſerved). 1. Becauſe they had no ſettled congregation there. 2. Becauſe a miniſter hath no power to give the ſeals but in his own congregation. He deſired his wife might alſo be admitted a member, and gave a modeſt teſtimony of her, but withal requeſted ſhe might not be put to make open confeſſion, &c. which he ſaid was againſt the Apoſtles rule, and not fit for women's modeſty, but that the elders might examine her in private. So ſhe was aſked if ſhe did conſent in the confeſſion of faith made by her huſband, and if ſhe did deſire to be admitted, &c. whereto ſhe anſwered affirmatively, and ſo both were admitted, and their child baptiſed, the father preſenting it, the child's baptiſm being, as he did then affirm in another caſe, the fathers inſtruction for the help of his faith, &c. 1633. Sept.

The ſaid 4th of September, came in alſo the ſhip called the Bird, Mr. Yates, maſter, ſhe brought ——— paſſengers, having loſt ——, and —— cows, and four mares; ſhe had been twelve weeks at ſea, being at her firſt coming out, driven Notherly to 53.

About ten days before this time a bark was ſet forth to Connecticut and thoſe parts to trade.

John Oldham and three with him went over land to Connecticut to trade; the Sachem uſed them kindly, and gave them ſome beaver. They bought of him the hemp that grew there in great abundance, and is much better than the Engliſh

1633. gliſh. He accounted it to be about 160 miles;* he brought ſome black lead, whereof the Indians told him there was a whole rock. He lodged at Indian towns all the way.

Sept. Captain John Stone, of whom mention is made before, carried himſelf very diſſolutely in drawing company to drink, &c. being found upon the bed in the night with one Barcroft's wife, he was brought before the Governor, &c. and tho it appeared he was in drink, and no act to be proved, yet it was thought he ſhould abide his trial, for which a warrant was ſent out to ſtay his pinnace which was ready to ſet ſail, whereupon he went to Mr. Ludlow, one of the aſſiſtants, and uſed ——— and threatning ſpeeches againſt him, for which he raiſed ſome company and apprehended him, and brought him to the Governor, who put him in irons, and kept a guard upon him till the court, but his irons were taken off the ſame day. At the court his indictment was framed for adultery, but found *ignoramus* by the grand jury; but for his other miſdemeanors he was fined 100l. which yet was not levied of him, and ordered upon pain of death to come here no more without licence of the court, and the woman was bound to her good behaviour.

The Governor and council met at Boſton and called the
37 miniſters and elders of all the churches to conſider about Mr. Cotton, his ſitting down. He was deſired to divers places, and thoſe who came with him deſired he might ſit down where they might keep ſtore of cattle; but it was agreed by full conſent, that the fitteſt place for him was Boſton, and in that reſpect thoſe of Boſton might take farms in any part of the Bay not belonging to other towns, and that (keeping a lecturer) he ſhould have ſome maintenance out of the treaſury. But divers of the council, upon ſecond thought, did after refuſe this contribution.

The bark Bleſſing which was ſent to the Southward, return-
Oct. 2. ed, ſhe had been at an Iſland over againſt Connecticut, called Long-Iſland, becauſe it is near 50 leagues long, the Eaſt part about 10 leagues from the main, but the Weſt end not one mile, there they had ſtore of the beſt wampampeague both white and blue. The Indians there are very treacherous people; they have many canoes ſo great as one will carry 80 men. They were alſo in the river of Connecticut, which is barred at the entrance, ſo as they could not find above one fathom water. They were alſo at the Dutch plantation upon Hudſon's river

* *From Boſton to Connecticut River, in a direct line, is not more than half that diſtance.* EDIT.

river (called New Netherlands) where they were very kindly entertained, and had ſome beaver and other things for ſuch commodities as they put off. They ſhewed the Governor (called Gwalter Van Twilly) their commiſſion, which was to ſignify to them, that the King of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own ſubjects, and therefore deſired them to forbear to build there. The Dutch Governor wrote back to our Governor (his letter was very courteous and reſpectful as it had been to a very honorable perſon) whereby he ſignified that the Lords the ſtates had alſo granted the ſame parts to the Weſt India company, and therefore requeſted that he would forbear the ſame till the matter were decided between the King of England and the ſaid Lords. 1633. Oct.

The ſaid bark did paſs and repaſs over the ſhoals of Cape Cod, about three or four leagues from Natucket Iſle, where the breaches are very terrible, yet they had three fathom water all over.

The company of Plimouth ſent a bark to Connecticut at this time to erect a trading houſe there; when they came they found the Dutch had built there, and did forbid the Plimouth men to proceed, but they ſet up their houſe notwithſtanding about a mile above the Dutch. This river runs ſo far Northward that it comes within a days journey of a part of Merrimack called and runs thence N. W. ſo near the great lake as the Indians do paſs their canoes into it over land. From this lake and the hideous ſwamps about it came moſt of the beaver which is traded between Virginia and Canada, which runs forth of this lake;—and Patomack river in Virginia comes likewiſe out of it or very near, ſo as from this lake there comes yearly to the Dutch about 10,000 ſkins which might eaſily be diverted by Merrimack, if a courſe of trade were ſettled above in that river.

A faſt was kept at Boſton, and Mr. Leverett an ancient ſincere profeſſor of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England was choſen a ruling elder, and Mr. Fermin a godly man an apothecary of Sudbury in England was choſen deacon by impoſition of hands, and Mr. Cotton was then choſen teacher of the congregation of Boſton, and ordained by impoſition of hands. Then Mr. Wilſon the paſtor demanded of him if he did except of that call; he pauſed, and then ſpoke to this effect. That however he knew himſelf unworthy and inſufficient for that place, yet having obſerved all the paſſages of God's providence (which he recorded up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but except it. Then the paſtor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head and the paſtor prayed, and then 10

taking

1633. taking off their hands laid them on again, and ſpeaking to him by his name, they did thereby deſign him to the ſaid office in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a ſign from God) endue him with the gifts fit for his office, and laſtly did bleſs him. Then the neighbouring miniſters which were preſent did, at the paſtor's notice, give him the right hand of fellowſhip, and the paſtor made a ſtipulation between him and the congregation. When Mr. Cotton accepted of the office, he commended to the congregation ſuch as were to come over who were of his charge in England, that they might be comfortably provided for.

The ſame day Mr. Grant in the ſhip James arrived at Salem, having been but eight weeks between Graveſend and Salem; he brought Captain Wiggin and about 30, with one Mr. L——— a godly miniſter to Piſcataq. (which the Lord Say and the Lord Brook had purchaſed of the Briſtol men) and about 30 for Virginia, and about 20 for that place and ſome 60 cattle. He brought news that the Richard a bark of 50 tons which came forth with the Griffin, being come above 300 leagues, ſprang ſuch a leak as ſhe was forced to bear up and put into Waymouth.

Oct. 11. A faſt at Newtown where Mr. Hooker was choſen paſtor and Mr. Stone teacher in ſuch a manner as before at Boſton. The wolves continued to do much hurt among our cattle—and this month by Mr. Grant there came over four Iriſh grey hounds which were ſent to the Governor by Mr. Downing his brother-in-law.

Nov. A great mortality among the Indians, Chickatabot the Sagamore of Naponſett died, and many of his people. The diſeaſe was the ſmall pox. Some of them were cured by ſuch means as they had from us; many of their children eſcaped and were kept by the Engliſh. Capt. Wiggin of Piſcataq. wrote to the Governor that one of his people had ſtabbed another, and deſired he might be tried in the Bay, if the party deſired. The Governor anſwered that if Piſcataq. lay within their limits (as it was ſuppoſed) they would try him.

A ſmall ſhip of about 60 tons was built at Meadford, and called the Rebecca. This year a water mill was built at Roxbury, by Mr. Dummer.

The ſcarcity of workmen had cauſed them to raiſe their wages to an exceſſive rate, ſo as a carpenter would have three ſhillings the day, a laborer two ſhillings and ſix-pence, &c. and accordingly thoſe who had commodities to ſell, advanced their prices ſometime double to that they coſt in England, ſo as it

grew

grew to a general complaint, which the court taking know- 1633.
ledge of, as alſo of ſome further evils which were ſpringing
out of the exceſſive rates of wages. They made an order that Nov.
carpenters, maſters &c. ſhould take but 2s. the day, and la-
bourers but 18d.—and that no commodity ſhould be ſold at
above four pence in the ſhilling more than it coſt for ready mo-
ney in England, oil, wine, &c. and cheeſe in regard of the ha-
zard of bringing, &c. The evils which were ſpringing, were,
1. Many ſpent much time idly, becauſe they could get as much
in four days as would keep them a week. 2. They ſpent much
in tobacco and ſtrong waters* which was a great waſte to the
Commonwealth, which by reaſon of ſo many ſcarce commo-
dities expended could not have ſubſiſted to this time, but that
it was ſupplied by the cattle and corn which were ſold to new
comers at very dear rates, viz. corn at 6s. the buſhel; a cow
at 26l.—yea ſome at 24l. ſome 26l. a mare at 35l. an ewe
goat at 3 or 4l. and yet many cattle were every year brought
out of England, and ſome from Virginia. Soon after an or-
der was taken for prices of commodities, viz. not to exceed the
rate of four pence in the ſhilling above the price in England,
except cheeſe and liquors, &c.

The miniſters in the Bay and Sagus did meet once a fort-
night at one of their houſes by commiſſion, where ſome queſtion
of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton the paſtor of Salem,
and Mr. Williams, who was removed from Plimouth thither,
but not in any office, tho he exerciſed by way of prophecy,
took ſome exceptions againſt it, as fearing it might grow in
time to a preſbytery or ſuperintendency, to the prejudice of
the churches liberties, but this fear was without cauſe, for they
were all clear in that point, that no church or perſon can have
power over another church, neither did they in their meetings
exerciſe any ſuch juriſdiction.

News of the taking of Machias by the French. Mr. Aller- 13
ton of Plimouth and ſome others had ſet up a trading wigwam
there, and loſt in it five men and ſtore of commodities. La-
Tour, Governor of the French in thoſe parts, making claim to
the place, came to diſplant them, and finding reſiſtance, kill-
ed two of the men, and carried away the other three, and the
goods.

Some differences fell out ſtill now and then, between the
Governor and deputy, which were ſoon healed. It had been
ordered in court, that all hands ſhould help to the finiſhing of
the fort at Boſton, and all the towns in the Bay had gone once

* *Rum or Spirits,* EDIT.

1633. Nov. over, and moſt the ſecond time; but thoſe of Newtown being warned, the deputy would not ſuffer them to come, neither did acquaint the Governor with the cauſe, which was, for that Salem and Sagus had not brought in money for their parts. The Governor hearing of it, wrote friendly to him, ſhewing him that the intent of the court was, that the work ſhould be done by thoſe in the Bay, and that after the others ſhould pay a proportionable ſum for the houſe, &c. which muſt be done by money, and therefore deſired him that he would ſend in his neighbours. Upon this Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker came to the Governor to treat with him about it, and brought a letter from the deputy full of bitterneſs and reſolution not to ſend till Salem, &c. The Governor told them it ſhould reſt till the court, and withal gave the letter to Mr. Hooker with this ſpeech: I am not willing to keep ſuch an occaſion of provocation by me; and ſoon after he wrote to the deputy (who had before deſired to buy a fat hog or two of him, being ſomewhat ſhort of proviſions) to deſire him to ſend for one, which he would have ſent him if he had known when his occaſion had been to have made uſe of it, and to accept it as a teſtimony of his good will, and leſt he ſhould make any ſcruple of it, he made Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker (who both ſo-journed in his houſe) partakers with him. Upon this the deputy returned this anſwer:—"Your overcoming yourſelf hath overcome me, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, and myſelf do moſt kindly accept the good will, but we deſire, without offence, to refuſe the offer, and that I may only trade with you for two hogs," and ſo very lovingly concluded.—The court being two days after, ordered that Newtown ſhould do their work as others had done, and then Salem, &c. ſhould pay for three days at 18d. a man.

13 The congregation of Boſton met to take order for Mr. Cotton's purſage and houſe, and his and Mr. Wilſon's maintenance. Mr. Cotton had diſburſed eighty pounds for his purſage and towards his houſe which he would not have again, ſo there was about 60l. raiſed by voluntary contribution, towards the finiſhing of his houſe, and about 100l. towards their maintenance. At this meeting there aroſe ſome difference between the Governor and Mr. Cottington, who charged the Governor, that he took away the liberty of the reſt, becauſe at the requeſt of the reſt, he had named ſome men to ſet out miniſter's lands, &c. which grew to ſome heat of words, but the next Lord's day they both acknowledged openly their failings, and declared that they had been reconciled the next day.

Mr.

Mr. Wilſon, by leave of the congregation of Boſton (where- 1633.
of he was paſtor) went to Agawam to teach the people of that
plantation, becauſe they had yet no miniſter; while he was Nov. 26.
there, there fell ſuch a ſnow (knee deep) as he could not come
back for days, and a boat which went thither was fro- Dec. 4.
zen up in the river.

John Sagamore died of the ſmall pox and almoſt all his peo- 5
ple, about 30 buried by Mr. Maverick of Wineſemett in one
day. The towns in the bay took away many of the children,
but moſt of them died ſoon after. James Sagamore of Sagus
died alſo and moſt of his folks. John Sagamore deſired to be
brought among the Engliſh, ſo he agreed and promiſed, if
he recovered, to live with the Engliſh and ſerve their God. He
left one ſon which he diſpoſed to Mr. Wilſon the paſtor of
Boſton to be brought up by him. He gave to the Governor a
good quantity of wampampeague, and to divers others of the
Engliſh he gave gifts and took order for the payment of his
own debts and his men's; he died in a perſuaſion that he
ſhould go to the Engliſhmen's God. Divers of them in their
ſickneſs confeſſed that the Engliſhmen's God was a good God,
and that if they recovered they would ſerve him. It wrought
much with them that when their own people forſook them, yet
the Engliſh came daily and miniſtered to them, and yet few
took any inſtructions by it. Among others Mr. Maverick of
Wineſemett is worthy of ſpecial remembrance; himſelf, his
wife and ſervants went daily to them, miniſtered to their ne-
ceſſities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their
children; ſo did other of the neighbours. This infectious diſ-
eaſe ſpread to Piſcataq. where all the Indians except one or
two, died.—

One Couper of Piſcataq. going to an Iſland upon the Lord's
day to fetch ſome ſack to be drank at the great houſe, he and
a boy coming back in a canoe (being both drunk) were driven
to ſea and never heard of after. At the ſame plantation a
company having made a fire at a tree, one of them ſaid, this
tree will fall, and accordingly it fell upon him and killed
him.

It pleaſed the Lord to give ſpecial teſtimony of his preſence
in the church of Boſton after Mr. Cotton was called to office
there, more were converted and added to that church than to
all the other churches in the bay (or rather the lake, for ſo it
were more principally termed, the bay being that part of ſea
between the two capes, Cape Cod and Cape Anne). Divers
profane and notorious evil perſons came and confeſſed their
ſins, and were comfortably received into the boſom of the

church

1633. church. Yea the Lord gave witneſs to the exerciſe of prophe-
Dec. cy, ſo as thereby ſome were converted and others much edifi-
ed. Alſo the Lord pleaſed greatly to bleſs the practice of diſ-
cipline wherein he gave the paſtor Mr. Wilſon a ſingular gift,
to the great benefit of the church. After much deliberation
and ſerious advice, the Lord directed the teacher Mr. Cotton
to make it clear by the ſcripture, that the miniſter's mainte-
nance, as well as all other charges of the church, ſhould be
defrayed out of a cheſt or treaſury, which was to be raiſed out
of the weekly contribution, which accordingly was agreed upon.

27 The Governor and aſſiſtants met at Boſton, and took into conſideration a treatiſe which Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had ſent to them, and which he had formerly written to the Governor and council of Plimouth, wherein among other things, he diſputes their right to the lands they poſſeſſed here, and concluded that claiming by the King's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwiſe except they compounded with the natives.—For this, taking advice with ſome of the moſt judicious miniſters, who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and preſumption, they gave order that he ſhould be convented at the next court, to be cenſured, &c. There were three paſſages chiefly whereat they were much offended. 1ſt. For that he chargeth King James to have told a ſolemn, public lie, becauſe in his patent he bleſſed God that he was the firſt chriſtian prince that had diſcovered this land. 2d. For that he chargeth him and others with blaſphemy for calling Europe Chriſtendom or the church world. 3d. For that he did perſonally apply to our preſent King Charles thoſe 3 places in the revelations viz.

Mr. Endicott being abſent the Governor wrote to him to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the ſaid errors, wiſhing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the ſame and whereto he returned a very modeſt and diſcreet anſwer. Mr. Williams alſo wrote to the Governor and alſo to him and the reſt of the council very ſubmiſſively, profeſſing his intent to have been only to have written for the private ſatisfaction of the gentlemen &. cof Plimouth, without any purpoſe to have ſtirred any further in it, if the Governor there had not required a copy of him, withal offering his book or any part of it to be burnt. At the next court he appeared privately, and gave ſatisfaction of his intention and gilt, ſo it was left and nothing done in it.

1634. News come from Plimouth that Capt. Stone who this laſt
Jan. 21. ſummer went out of the bay or lake, and ſo to Aquawaticus where he took in Capt. Norton, putting in at the mouth of

Connecticut

Connecticut in his way to Virginia where the pequins inhabit, was there cut off by them with all his company being eight. The manner was thus, [*See after Nov.* 6, 1634.] 1634. January. 22

Hall and the two others who went to Connecticut, Nov. 3d. came now home, having loſt themſelves and endured much miſery. They aſſured us that the ſmall pox was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the weſt, and much people dead of it, by reaſon whereof they could have no trade. At Naraganſett, by the Indian report, there died 700, but beyond Piſcataq. none to the eaſtward.

The Governor and council met again at Boſton to conſider of Mr. William's letter, &c. when with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilſon, and weighing his letter, and further conſidering of the aforeſaid offenſive paſſages in his book (which being written in very obſcure and implicative phrazes might well admit of doubtful interpretation) they found the matters not to be ſo evil as at firſt they ſeemed. Whereupon they agreed that upon his retraction, &c. and taking an oath of allegiance to the King, &c. it ſhould be paſſed over. 24

An Engliſhman of Sacoe, travelling into the country to trade was killed by the Indians.

John Scales who ran from his maſter to the Indians came here again; he was at a place twelve miles off, where were ſeven Indians. Four died of the pox while he was there. 30

Mr. Craddock's houſe at Marblehead was burnt down about midnight, there being then in it Mr. Allerton and many fiſhermen whom he employed that ſeaſon, who all were preſerved by a ſpecial providence of God, with moſt of the goods therein, by a taylor who ſet up that night at work in the houſe, and hearing a noiſe looked out and ſaw the houſe on fire above the oven in the thatch. Feb. 1.

This winter was very mild, little wind, and moſt S. and S. W. but after ſnows and great. One ſnow of the 15th of this month was near two feet deep all over. X

Such of the Indians children as were left, were taken by the Engliſh, moſt whereof did die of the pox* ſoon after, three only remaining, whereof one which the Governor kept was called Knows God, (the Indians uſual anſwer being, when they were put in mind of God, me no knows God).

The Grampoſs came up towards Charleſtown by the tide of ebb. By this time 17 fiſhing ſhips were come to Richman's Iſle and the Iſles of Shoals. 22

by

* *The ſmall pox, which proved fatal to many of the natives.*

1634. By order of court a market was erected at Boſton to be kept upon Thurſday the 5th day of the week, being the lecture day.

March 4. Samuel Cole ſet up the firſt houſe for common entertainment, and John Cogan merchant the firſt ſhop. Upon offer of ſome new comers to give liberally towards the building of a galley for defence of the bay, and upon conſultation with divers experienced ſeamen and others, it was thought fitter for our condition to build a veſſel 40 feet in length and 21 in breadth, to be cannon proof, and the upper deck muſket proof, to have one ſail, and to carry whole culverin and other ſmaller pieces, eight in all. This was found to be ſo chargeable and ſo long time ere it could be finiſhed, that it was given over. At this court all ſwamps above 100 acres were made common, &c. Alſo Robert Cole, having been often puniſhed for drunkenneſs, was now ordered to wear a red D about his neck for a year.

At the lecture at Boſton a queſtion was propounded about veils, Mr. Cotton concluded that where by the cuſtom of the place, they were not a ſign of a woman's ſobriety, they were not commanded by the apoſtle. Mr. Endicott oppoſed, and did maintain it by the general arguments brought by the apoſtle. After ſome debate, the Governor perceiving it to grow to ſome earneſtneſs, interpoſed and ſo it brake off.

Among other teſtimonies of the Lord's gracious preſence with his own ordinances, there was a youth of 14 years of age (being the ſon of one of the magiſtrates) ſo wrought upon by the miniſtry of the word, as for divers months he was held under ſuch affliction of mind, as he could not be brought to apprehend any comfort in God, being much humbled and broken for his ſins (tho he had been a dutiful child, and not given up to the luſts of youth) and eſpecially for his blaſphemous and wicked thoughts, whereby ſatan buffeted him, ſo as he went mourning and languiſhing daily, yet attending to the means and not giving over prayer, and ſeeking counſel, &c. he came at length to be freed from his temptation and to find comfort in God's promiſes, and ſo being received into the congregation upon good proof of his underſtanding in the things of God, he went on cheerfully in a chriſtian courſe, falling daily to labor, as a ſervant, and as a younger brother of his did, who was no whit ſhort of him in the knowledge of God's will, tho his youth kept him from daring to offer himſelf to the congregation. Upon this occaſion it is not impertinent (tho no credit nor regard to be had of dreams in theſe days) to report a dream which the father of theſe children had at the ſame time, viz. That coming into his chamber he found his wife (ſhe was a very gra-

cious

cious woman) in bed, and three or four of their children ly- 1634.
ing by her, with moſt ſweet and ſmiling countenances with March.
crowns upon their heads, and when he awoke, he told his wife his dream, and made this interpretation of it, that God would take of her children to make them fellow heirs with Chriſt in his kingdom.

Satan beſtirred himſelf to hinder the progreſs of the goſpel as among other practices, appeared by this. He ſtirred up a ſpirit of jealouſy between Mr. James the paſtor of Charleſtown and many of his people, ſo as Mr. Noel, and ſome others who had been diſmiſſed from Boſton began to queſtion the fact of Breaking from Boſton, and it grew to ſuch a principle of conſcience among them, as the advice of the other miniſters was taken in it, who after two meetings could not agree about their continuance or return.

One Mr. Morris, Enſign to Capt. Underhill, taking ſome diſtaſte in his office, requeſted the magiſtrates that he might be diſcharged of it, and ſo was, whereby he gave offence to the congregation of B. ſo as being queſtioned and convinced of ſin in forſaking his calling, he did acknowledge his fault, and at the requeſt of the people, was by the magiſtrates choſen lieutenant to the ſame company, for he was a very ſtout man and an experienced ſoldier. April 1.

Order was taken for miniſtering an oath to all houſe keepers and ſojourners being 20 years of age and not freemen, and for making a ſurvey of the houſes and lands of all freemen.

Notice being ſent out to the general court to be holden the 14th day of the 3d month called May, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and conſider of ſuch matters as they were to take order in at the ſame general court; who having met deſired a ſight of the patent, and conceiving thereby that all their laws ſhould be made at the general court, repaired to the Governor to adviſe with him about it, and about the abrogating of ſome orders formerly made; as for killing of ſwine in corn, &c. He told them that when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was ſuppoſed to be (as in like corporations) ſo few, as they might well join in making laws, but now they were grown to ſo great a body as it was not poſſible for them to make or execute laws, but they muſt chooſe others for that purpoſe and that howſoever it would be neceſſary hereafter to have a ſelect company to intend that work, yet for the preſent they were not furniſhed with a ſufficient number of men qualified for ſuch a buſineſs, neither could the commonwealth bear the loſs of time of ſo many as muſt intend it, yet this they might do at preſent, viz. They might at the general

court

1634. April. court make an order that once in the year a certain number ſhould be appointed upon ſummons from the Governor, to reviſe all laws, &c. and to reform what they found amiſs therein, but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the court of aſſiſtants, and that no aſſeſſment ſhould be laid upon the country without the conſent of ſuch a committee, nor
3 any lands diſpoſed of.

The Gov. went on foot to Agawam, and becauſe the people there wanted a miniſter, ſpent the ſabbath with them, and
20 excerciſed by way of prophecy, and returned home the 10th.

John Coggeſhall gentleman, being diſmiſſed from the church of Roxbury to Boſton, tho he were well known and approved of the church, yet was not received but by confeſſion of his
May. 3 faith, &c.

News came of the death of Hoſkin and the Plimouth man at Kenebeck, and of the arrival of the ſhip at Pemaquid which brought 30 paſſengers for this place. The occaſion of the death of thoſe men at Kenebeck was this. The Plimouth men had a grant from the grand patentees of N. E. of Kenebeck, with liberty of ſole trade, &c. The ſaid Hoſkin came in a pinnace belonging to the Lord Say and Lord Brook at Piſcataqua to trade at Kenebeck; two of the magiſtrates at Plimouth being there, forbad him, yet he went up the river, and becauſe he would not come down again, they ſent three men in a canoe to cut his cables, having cut one, Hoſkin preſented a piece, and ſwore he would kill him that went up to cut the other; they told him do if he durſt, and went on to cut it, thereupon he killed one of them, and inſtantly one in the Plimouth pinnace (which rode by them and wherein five or ſix men ſtood with their pieces ready charged) ſhot and killed Hoſkin. At the general court at Boſton, upon the complaint of a kinſman of the ſaid Hoſkin. John Alden, one of the ſaid magiſtrates of Plimouth, who was preſent when Hoſkin was ſlain, being then at Boſton, was called and bound with ſureties not to depart out of our juriſdiction without leave, &c. and withal we wrote to Plimouth to certify them what we had done, and to know whether they would do juſtice in the cauſe (as belonging to their juriſdiction) and to have a ſpeedy anſwer, &c. This we did that notice might be taken that we did diſavow the ſaid action which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occaſion to the King to ſend a general Governor over, and beſide, had brought us all, and the goſpel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.

By this time the fort at Boſton was in defence, and divers pieces of ordinance mounted in it.

Thoſe

Thoſe of Newtown complained of ſtraitneſs for want of land, eſpecially meadow, and deſired leave of the council to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted; whereupon they ſent men to ſee Agawam and Merimack, and gave out they would remove. 1634. May.

At the general Court Mr. Cotton preached and delivered this doctrine, that a magiſtrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without juſt cauſe, and to be publicly convict,—no more than the magiſtrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, &c. without like public trial. This falling in queſtion in the court, and the opinion of the reſt of the miniſters being aſked, it was referred to further conſideration.

The court choſe a new Governor * viz. Thomas Dudley, Eſq. the former deputy, and Mr. Ludlow was choſen deputy, and John Haynes, Eſq. an aſſiſtant, and all the reſt of the aſſiſtants choſen again. choſen by papers.

At this court it was ordered that four general courts ſhould be kept every year, and that the whole body of freemen ſhould be preſent only at the court of election of magiſtrates, and that at the other three, every town ſhould ſend their deputies who ſhould aſſiſt in making laws, diſpoſing lands, &c. Many good orders were made this court, it held three days, and all things were carried very peaceably, notwithſtanding that ſome of the aſſiſtants were queſtioned by the freemen for ſome errors in their government, and ſome fines impoſed, but remitted again before the court broke up. The court was kept in the meeting-houſe at Boſton. The week the court was, there came in ſix ſhips with ſtore of paſſengers and cattle. Mr. Cottington choſen Treaſurer

Mr. Parker a miniſter and a company with him being about one hundred, went to ſit down at Agawam and divers others of the new comers.

One ———, a Godly miniſter, upon conſcience of his oath and care of the common W. diſcovered to the magiſtrates ſome ſeditious ſpeeches of his ſon delivered in private to himſelf, but the court thought not fit to call the party in queſtion then, being loth to have the father come in as public accuſer of his own ſon, but rather deſired to find other matters, or other witneſſes againſt him.

Mr. Fleming, maſter of a ſhip of Barnſtable went hence to the Eaſtward to cut maſts there, and ſo to return to England; there returned with him enſign Motham and another. 24

Theſe ſhips, by reaſon of their ſhort paſſage had ſtore of proviſions left, which they put off at eaſy rates, viz. biſcuit at 20s. the C. beef at 6l. the hoſhead, &c.

1634. Newtown men being ſtraitened for ground ſent ſome to Merimack to find a fit place to tranſplant themſelves.

June 1. The Thunder which went to Bermuda the 17th of October, now returned, bringing corn and goats from Virginia (for the weavils had taken the corn at Bermuda before they came there) enſign Jenyſon went in her for a pilot, and related at his return, that there was a very great change in Bermuda ſince he dwelt there, divers lewd perſons having become good chriſtians. They have three miniſters, one a Scotchman who took great pains among them, and had lately, by prayer and faſting diſpoſſeſſed one poſſeſſed of a devil: They obtained his recovery while the congregation were aſſembled. He brought news alſo of a great ſhip arrived in Patomack river in Virginia, with a Governor and colony ſent by the Lord Bartimore who was expected there ſhortly himſelf, and that they reſiſted thoſe of Virginia, who came to trade in that river.

It appeared after that the King had written to Sir Jo. Harvy Kings Governor of Virginia to give all aſſiſtance to that new plantation which was called Maryland by the Queen of England, and thoſe that came over were many of them papiſts, and did ſet up maſs openly.

July. The Hercules of Dover returned by St. Georges to cut maſts to carry to England.

The laſt month arrived here 14 great ſhips and one at Salem, Mr. Humphry and the lady Suſan his wife one of the Earl of Lincoln's ſiſters arrived here. He brought more ordnance, muſkets and powder bought for the public for monies given to that end; for godly people in England began now to apprehend an eſpecial hand of God in raiſing this plantation, and their hearts were generally ſtirred to come to us. Among others we received letters from a godly preacher Mr. Leviſton a Scotchman in the North of Ireland, whereby he ſignified that there were many good chriſtians in thoſe parts reſolved to come hither if they might receive ſatisfaction concerning ſome queſtions and propoſitions which they ſent over. Likewiſe Mr. Humphry brought certain propoſitions from ſome perſons of great quality and eſtate (and of ſpecial note for piety) whereby they diſcovered their intentions to join with us if they might receive ſatisfaction therein. It appeared further by many private letters that the departure of ſo many of the beſt, both miniſters and chriſtians had bred ſad thoughts in thoſe behind of the Lord's intentions in this work, and an apprehenſion of ſome evil days to come upon England; yea it began now to be apprehended by the Arch-Biſhop and others of the council as a maſter of ſtate, ſo as they ſent out warrants to ſtay the ſhips,

and

and to call in our patent: but upon petition of the ſhip maſters (alledging how beneficial this plantation was to England) in regard of the Newfoundland fiſhing which they took in their way homeward, the ſhips were at that time releaſed: But Mr. Cradock (who had been Governor in England before the government was ſent over) had ſtrict charge to deliver in the patent; whereupon he wrote to us to ſend it home upon receipt of his letter. The Governor and council conſulted about it, and reſolved to anſwer Mr. Cradock's letter, but not to return any anſwer or excuſe to the council at that time. 1634. July.

Divers of the ſhips loſt many cattle, but the two which came from Ipſwich, of more than 120, loſt but 7. None of the ſhips loſt any paſſengers, but the E. Dorcas which having a long paſſage, and being hurt upon a rock at Silly, and very ill victualled, ſhe loſt 60 paſſengers at ſea, and divers came ſick on ſhore, who all recovered (through the mercy of God) except

Mr. Humphry brought 16 hiefers given by a private friend, viz. Mr. Richard Andrews, to the plantation, viz. To every of the miniſters one, and the reſt to the poor, and one half of the increaſe of the miniſters to be reſerved for other miniſters. Mr. Wilſon ſo ſoon as he had his, gave it to Mr. Cotton. By Mr. Humphry's means much money was procured, and divers promiſed yearly penſions.

Six of Newtown went in the Bleſſing (being bound to the Dutch plantation) to diſcover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither.

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winſlow two of the magiſtrates of Plimouth, with Mr. Smith their paſtor, came to Boſton by water to confer with ſome of our magiſtrates and miniſters about their caſe of Kenebeck. There met thereabout, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilſon, and after they had ſought the Lord, they fell firſt upon ſome paſſages which they had taken ſome offence at, but thoſe were ſoon cleared. Then for the matter itſelf it fell into theſe points. 1ſt. Whether their right of trade there were ſuch as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there. 2d. Admitting that, whether in point of conſcience they might ſo far ſtand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence of it. For the 1ſt. Their right appeared to be good, for that beſides the King's grant, they had taken up that place as *vacuum domicilium*, and ſo had continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives for divers years, and alſo had by their own charge and providence drawn down thither, the greateſt part of the trade by carrying wampampeague thither, which none

of

1634. July. of the Engliſh had known the uſe of before. For the 2d. They allowed that their ſervant did kill Hoſkin to ſave other of their men whom he was ready to have ſhot,—yet they acknowledged that they did hold themſelves under guilt of the breach of the 6th commandment, in that they did hazard men's lives for ſuch a cauſe, and did not rather wait to preſerve their right by other means, which they rather acknowledged becauſe they wiſhed it were not done, and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.

The Governor and Mr. Winthrop wrote their letters into England to mediate their peace, and ſent them by Mr. Wilſon, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Capt. Maſon ſent to Piſcat. and Aquawaticus, with 2 ſaw-mills to be erected, in each place one.

Mr. Cradock wrote to the Governor and aſſiſtants, and ſent a copy of the council's order, whereby we were required to ſend over our patent. Upon long conſultation whether we ſhould return anſwer or not, we agreed, and returned anſwer to Mr. Cradock, excuſing that it could not be done but by a general court which was to be holden in September next.

Mr. Winthrop the late Gov. received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the proſperity of our plantation, and encouraged our proceedings, and offered his help to further us in it.

29 The Governor and council and divers of the miniſters and others, met at Caſtle Iſland, and there agreed upon erecting two platforms and one ſmall fortification to ſecure the city, and for the preſent furtherance of it, they agreed to lay out five pounds a man till a rule might be made at the next general court. The deputy Roger Ludlow was choſen overſeer of the work.

Auguſt 2. Mr. Samuel Skelton paſtor of Salem died.

4 At the court, the new town at Agawam was named Ipſwich, in acknowledgement of the great honour and kindneſs done to our people which took ſhipping there, &c. and a day of thankſgiving appointed a fortnight after for the particular revival of the times, &c.

A letter to Mr. Winthrop by Mr. Jeffery an old planter, written to him from Moreton, wherein he related how he had obtained his long ſuit, and that a commiſſion was granted for a general Governor to be ſent over, with many railing ſpeeches and threats againſt this plantation, and Mr. Winthrop in particular. Mr. Winthrop acquainted the Governor and council with it, and ſome of the miniſters.

X This ſummer was hotter than many before.

Abour

About midnight one Craſord (who came this ſummer) with his brother and ſervant, having put many goods in a ſmall boat in Charles River, over againſt Richard Brown his houſe, overſet the boat with the weight of ſome hhds. (as was ſuppoſed) ſo as they were all three drowned, yet one of them could ſwim well, and tho the neighbours came running forth inſtantly upon their cry, yet none could be ſaved. 1634. Aug. 12

Our neighbours of Plimouth and we had often traded with the Dutch at Hudſon's River (called New Netherlands). We had from them about 40 ſheep and beaver, and braſs pieces and ſugar, &c. for ſack, ſtrong waters, linen cloth and other commodities. They have a great trade of beaver, about 9 or 10,000 ſkins in a year. Our neighbours of Plimouth had great trade alſo this year at Kenebeck, ſo as Mr. Winſlow carried with him into England this year about 20 hhds. of beaver, the greateſt part whereof was traded for wampampeague.

One pleaſant paſſage happened which was acted by the Indians. Mr. Winſlow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Naraganſett, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Oſamekin the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him home to Plimouth, but before they took their journey Oſamekin ſent one of his men to Plimouth to tell them that Mr. Winſlow was dead, and directed him to ſhew how and where he was killed, whereupon there was much fear and ſorrow at Plimouth. The next day when Oſamekin brought him home they aſked him why he ſent ſuch word, &c. he anſwered, that it was their manner to do ſo that they might be more welcome when they came home.

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Collier of Plimouth came to Boſton, having appointed a meeting there the week before, but by reaſon of foul weather were driven back. They had written to Captain Wiggin of Piſcat. about the meeting for hearing the cauſe of Hoſkins death. 19

Corn was this year at 4s. the buſhel and ſome at 3s. and ſome cheaper.

The D———, a pinnace of about 50 tons came from Maryland upon Patomack River with corn to exchange for fiſh and other commodities. The Governor Leonard Calcourt and two of the commiſſioners wrote to the Governor here to make offer of trade of corn, &c. and the Governor of Virginia wrote alſo on their behalf, and one Capt. Young wrote to make offer to deliver cattle here. Near all their company came ſick hither, and the merchant died within one week after. 29

The general court began at Newtown and continued a week, and then was adjourned eleven days. Many things were there Sept. 4

1634. Sept. there agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Caſtle Iſland, Dorcheſter and Charleſtown; alſo againſt tobacco and coſtly apparel, and immodeſt faſhions, and committees appointed for ſetting out the bounds of towns, with divers other matters, which do appear upon record. But the main buſineſs which ſpent the moſt time, and cauſed the adjourning of the court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the laſt general court to look out ſome place for enlargement or removal, with promiſe of having it confirmed to them if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reaſons alledged pro and con. The principal reaſons for their removal, were, 1. Their want of accommodation for their cattle, ſo as they were not able to maintain their miniſter, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alledged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were ſet ſo near each to other. 2. The fruitfulneſs and commodiouſneſs of Connecticut, and the danger of having it poſſeſſed by other Dutch or Engliſh. 3. The ſtrong bent of their ſpirits to remove thither.

Againſt theſe, it was ſaid, 1. That in point of conſcience they ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to ſeek the welfare of this Commonwealth. 2. That in point of ſtate and civil policy, we ought not to give them leave to depart. 1. Being new, were now weak and in danger to be aſſailed. 2. The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw many from us, but alſo divert other friends that would come to us. 3. We ſhould expoſe them to evident peril both from the Dutch who made claim to the ſame river and had already built a fort there, and from the Indians, and alſo from our own ſtate at home, who would not endure they ſhould ſit down without a patent in any place which our King lays claim unto.

3. They might be accommodated at home by ſome enlargement which other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merimack or any other place within our patent. 5. The removing of a candleſtick is a great judgment which is early to be avoided. Upon theſe and other arguments the court being divided, it was put to vote, and of the deputies 15 were for their departure, and 10 againſt it. The Governor and two aſſiſtants were for it, and the deputy and all the reſt of the aſſiſtants were againſt it, except the ſecretary who gave no vote, whereupon no record was entered becauſe there were not ſix aſſiſtants in the vote, as the patent requires. Upon this grew

a great

a great difference between the governor and assistants, and the deputies: They would not yield the assistants a negative voice, and the other (considering how dangerous it might be to the commonwealth if they should not keep that strength to ballance the greater number of deputies) thought it safe to stand upon it; so when they could proceed no further, the whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations the 18th day of this month, and the 24th the court met again. Before they began Mr. Cotton preached (being desired by all the court, upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for that occasion) he took his text out of Hag. 2. 4. and out of which he laid down the nature or strength (as he term'd it) of the magistracy, ministry and people. viz. The strength of the magistracy to be their authority,--of the people their liberty, and of the ministry their purity; and shewed how all of those had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolution ought to be in the whole body of the people, &c. with answer to all objections, and a declaration of the peoples duty and right to maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence, &c. which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased the Lord so to assist him and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully, and altho all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrate, yet no man moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown, and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed. 1634. Sept.

At this court Mr. Goodwin a very revered and godly man being the elder of the congregation of Newton, having in heat of argument, used some unreverend speech to one of the assistants, and being reproved for the same in the open court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge his fault, &c.

At this court were many laws made against tobacco and immodest fashions and costly apparel, &c. as appears by the records. And 600l. raised towards fortifications and other charges, which were the more hastened, because the Griffin and another ship, now arriving with about 200 passengers and 100 cattle (Mr. Lathrop and Mr. Simes, two godly ministers coming in the same ship) there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two Arch-Bishops and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them or any five of them, to call in all patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish Governors, and to hear and determine all causes, and inflict all punishments 13

1634. punishments, even death itself, &c. This being advised from our friends to be intended specially for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for the carrying the new Governor, Capt. Woodhouse to Virginia, but suspected to be against us, to compel us by force to receive a new Governor, and the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the Commissioners,--occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications, and to discover our minds each to other, which grew to this conclusion, viz.

Oct. 5. At this court as before the assistants had their dues at the Governors at Newtown, and the first day all the deputies. He had 100l. allowed him for his charges, and 500l. more was raised towards fortifications, &c.

About this time one Alderman of Bear Cove, being about 50 years old, lost his way between Dorchester and Wessagasus, and wandered in the woods and swamps three days and two nights without taking any food, and being near spent, God brought him to Scituate, but he had torn his legs much, other harm he had none,

It being found that the four lectures did spend too much time, and proved very burdensome to the ministers and people, the ministers, with the advice of the magistrates, and with consent of their congregations, did agree to reduce them to two days, viz. Mr. Cotton at Boston one Thursday or the 5th day of the week, and Mr. Hooker at Newtown the next 5th day, and Mr. Warham at Dorchester one 4th day of the week, and Mr. Wilde at Roxbury the next 4th day.

Mr. Lathrop who had been pastor of a private congregation in London, and for the same kept long time in prison (upon refusal of the oath *ex-officio*) being at Boston upon a sacrament day, after the sermon, desired leave of the congregation to be present at the administration, but said that he durst not desire to partake in it, because he was not then in order, (being dismissed from his former congregation) and he thought it not fit to be suddenly admitted into any other for example sake, and because of the deceitfulness of man's heart. He went to Scituate, being desired to be their pastor.

14 It was informed the Governor that some of our people being aboard the bark of Maryland, the sailors did revile them, calling them holy brethren, the members,&c. and withal did curse and swear most horribly, and used threatning speeches against us. The Governor wrote to some of the assistants about it, and upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them in question; and to this end, (because we knew not how to get them out of their bark) we apprehended the merchant of the

the ſhip, being one Store, and committed him to the marſhall, till Mr. Maverick came and undertook that the offender ſhould be forthcoming. The next day (the Governor not being well) we examined the witneſſes and found them fall ſhort of the matter of threatning, and not to agree about the reviling ſpeeches, beſide, not being able to deſign certainly the men that had ſo offended, whereupon (the bark ſtaying only for this) the bail was diſcharged, and a letter written to the maſter, that in regard ſuch diſorders were committed aboard his ſhip, it was his duty to inquire out the offenders and puniſh them, and withal to deſire him to bring no more ſuch diſordered perſons among us. 1634. Oct.

The weather was very fair and hot without rain, near ſix weeks.

The Lords Say and Brook wrote to the Governor and Mr. Bellingham, that howſoever they might have ſent a man of war to beat down the houſe in Kenebeck for the death of Hoſkins, &c. that they thought better to take another courſe, and therefore deſired that ſome of ours might be joined with Capt. Wiggin their agent at Piſcat. to ſee juſtice done, &c.

Six men of Salem going on fowling in a canoe, were overſet near Kettle Iſland, and five of them drowned. 20

At the court of aſſiſtants complaint was made by ſome of the country, viz. Richard Brown of Watertown in the name of the reſt, that the enſign at Salem was defaced, viz. one part of the red croſs taken out. Upon this an attachment was awarded againſt Richard Davenport, Enſign bearer to appear at the next court to anſwer. Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the King's colours: Though the truth were it was done upon this opinion, that the red croſs was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an enſign of victory, and ſo a ſuperſtitious thing, and a relique of antichriſt. What proceeding was hereupon, will appear after, at next court in the firſt month, for by reaſon of the great ſnows and froſts we uſed not to keep courts in the three winter months. 9ber

The Rebeccah came from Naraganſett with 500 buſhels of corn given to Mr. John Oldham. The Indians had promiſed him 100 buſhels, but their ſtore fell out leſs than they expected. They gave him alſo an Iſland, in the Naraganſett Bay, called Chippaceerſett, about ſix miles long and two broad. This is a very fair bay, being above twelve leagues ſquare, with divers great Iſlands in it, a deep channel cloſe to the ſhore, being rocky. Mr. Pierce took the height there, and found it 41. 41. being not above half a degree to the ſouthward of us. In

1634. Nov. his voyage to and fro, he went over the ſhoals, having moſt part 5 or 6 fathom, within half a mile and leſs of the ſhore from the North part of Cape Cod to Xatuckett Iſland, which is about 20 leagues, and in the ſhalloweſt place two and an half fathom. The country on the W. of the bay of Naraganſett is all champain for many miles but very ſtony, and full of Indians. He ſaw there above 1000 men, women and children, yet the men were many abroad on hunting. Natuckett is an Iſland full of Indians, about 10 leagues in length E. and Weſt.

There came to the Deputy Governor about 14 days ſince a meſſenger from the Pekod Sachem to deſire our friendſhip, he brought two bundles of ſticks wherewith he ſignified how many beaver and other ſkins he would give us for that end, and great ſtore of Wampumpeague (about two buſhels by his deſcription) He brought a ſmall preſent with him, which the deputy received, and returned a mooſe coat of as good value, and withal told him that he muſt ſend perſons of greater quality, and then our Governor would treat with them. And now there came two men who brought another preſent of wampampeague, the deputy brought them to Boſton where moſt of the aſſiſtants were aſſembled by occaſion of the lecture, who calling to them ſome of the miniſters, grew to this treaty with them: That we were willing to have friendſhip, &c. but becauſe they had killed ſome Engliſhmen, viz. Capt. Stone &c. they muſt firſt deliver up ſuch as were guilty of his death, &c. They anſwered, that the Sachem who then lived was ſlain by the Dutch, and all the men who were guilty were dead of the pox, except two, and that if they were worthy of death, they would move their Sachem to have them delivered (for they had no commiſſion to do it) but they excuſed the fact, ſaying that Capt. Stone coming into their river, took two of their men and bound them, and made them ſhew him the way up the river, which when they had done, he with two others and the two Indians (their hand ſtill bound) went on ſhore, and 9 of their men watched them, and when they were on ſhore in the night, they killed them, then going towards the pinnace to have taken that, it ſuddenly blew up into the air. This was related with ſuch confidence and gravity, as having no means to contradict it, we were inclined to believe it, but the Governor not being preſent, we concluded nothing but ſome of us went with them the next day to the Governor.

The reaſon why they deſired ſo much our friendſhip was becauſe they were now in war with the Naraganſetts, whom, till this year, they had kept under, and likewiſe with the Dutch, who had killed their old Sachem and ſome other of their men,

for

for that the Pekods had killed ſome Indians who came to trade with the Dutch at Connecticut, and by theſe occaſions they could not trade ſafely any where, therfore they deſired us to ſend a pinnace with cloths and we ſhould have all their trade. They offered us alſo all their right at Connecticut, and to further us what they could if we would ſettle a plantation there. 1634. Nov.

When they came to the Governor, they agreed, according to the former treaty, viz. to deliver us the two men who were guilty of Captain Stone's death, when we would ſend for them; to yield Connecticut; to give us 400 fathom of wampam, and forty beaver and thirty otter ſkins, and that we ſhould preſently ſend a pinnace with cloths to trade with them, but not to defend them, &c.

The next morning news came that two or three hundred of the Naraganſetts were come to Cohan, viz. Naponſett, to kill the Pekod ambaſſadors, &c. Preſently we ſent out to Roxbury, and raiſed ſome few men in arms, and ſent to the Naraganſett men to come to us; when they came there were no more but two of their Sachems and about twenty men, who had been on hunting thereabouts and came to lodge with the Indians at Cohan, as their manner is, ſo we treated with them about the Pekods, and at our requeſt they promiſed they ſhould go and come to and from us in peace, and they were alſo content to enter further treaty of peace with them, and in all things ſhewed themſelves very ready to gratify us; ſo the Pekods returned home, and the Naraganſetts departed well ſatisfied; only they were told in private, that if they did make peace with the Pekods, we would give them part of that wampam, which they ſhould give us (for the Pekods hold it diſhonorable to offer them any thing as of themſelves) yet were willing we ſhould give it them, and indeed did offer us ſo much for that end. The agreement they made with us was put in writing, and the two ambaſſadors ſet their marks, one a bow with an arrow in it, and the other a hand.

The Regard a ſhip of Barnſtable, of about two hundred tons arrived with twenty paſſengers and about fifty cattle. 13

One thing I think fit to obſerve as a witneſs of God's providence for this plantation. There came in this ſhip one Mansfield, a poor godly man of Exeter, being very deſirous to come to us, but not able to tranſport his family: there was in the city a rich merchant, one Marſhall, who being troubled in his dreams about the ſaid poor man, could not be quiet till he had ſent for him and given him 50l. and lent him 100l. willing him withal, that if he wanted, he ſhould ſend to him for

1634. for more. This Mansfield grew ſuddenly rich and then loſt his godlineſs, and his wealth ſoon after.

Nov. 18 About this time an open pinnace of one Mr. Sewal, of Ipſwitch, going deep laden from Boſton was caſt away upon the rock at the head of Cape Anne, in a N. E. ſtorm, but all the men were ſaved.

21 One Willy a godly man, and member of Boſton church, and one Doroty an honeſt man and two boys, going over to Noddle's iſland to fetch wood in a ſmall boat, and none of them having any ſkill or experience, were caſt away in a N. E. tempeſt as they came home in the night laden, being then ebbing water. We ſent two boats on the Lord's day ſo ſoon as they were miſſing (being the 23d) but they could not find men, or boat, or wood, in any place of the bay. Three days after the boat was found at Muddy River overturned.

27 The aſſiſtants met at the Governor's to adviſe about the defacing of the croſs in the enſign at Salem, where (taking advice with ſome of the miniſters) we agreed to write to Mr. Downing in England, of the truth of the matter, under all our hands, that if occaſion were he might ſhew it in our excuſe, for there we expreſſed our diſlike of the thing, and our purpoſe to ſurniſh the offenders, yet with as much warineſs as we might, being doubtful of the lawfulneſs of the croſs in an enſign, tho we were clear that the fact, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful.

It was then informed us how Mr. Eliot the teacher of the church of Roxbury had taken occaſion in a ſermon to ſpeak of the peace made with the Pekods, and to lay ſome blame upon our meaſures for proceeding therein without conſent of the people, and for other failings (as he conceived). We took order that he ſhould be dealt with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Wilde, to be brought to ſee his error, and to heal it by ſome public explanation of his meaning, for the people began to take occaſion to murmur againſt us for it.

It was likewiſe informed that Mr, Williams of Salem had broken his promiſe to us in teaching publicly againſt the King's patent, and our great ſin in claiming right thereby to this country, &c. and for uſual terming the churches of England Anti-Chriſtian. We granted ſummons to him for his appearance at the next court.

The aforeſaid three miniſters upon conference with the ſaid Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error in that he had miſtaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war) the magiſtrates might conclude,

plebe

plebe inconsulto, and so promised to express himself in public next Lord's day. 1634.

One Scott and Eliot of Ipswich were lost in their way homewards, and wandered up and down six days, and eat nothing; at length they were found by an Indian being almost senseless for want of rest. Nov. 24

About the same time one was 21 days upon Plumb Island and found by chance frozen in the snow, yet alive and did well. He had been missing 20 days, and himself said he had no food all that time.

Was an extraordinary tempest of wind and snow at N. N. E. which continued 24 hours, and after that such frost as within two days the whole bay was frozen over, but free again before night. Dec. 4

The lectures at Boston and Newtown returned again to their former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as people could not travel. This day after the lecture the inhabitants of Boston met to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them. They chose by papers, and in their choice, left out Mr. Coddington and other of the chief men, only they chose one of the elders and a deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort. This they did, as fearing the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had often persuaded them unto as best for the town, &c. Mr. Cotton and divers others were offended at this choice, because they declined the magistrates; and Mr. Winthrop refused to be one upon such an election as was carried by a voice or two, telling them that tho for his part he did not apprehend any personal injury, nor did doubt of their good offering towards him, yet he was much grieved that Boston should be the first who should shake off their magistrates, especially Mr. Coddington who had been always so forward for their enlargement; adding further reason for declining this choice, to blot out so bad a precedent, whereupon, at the motion of Mr. Cotton who shewed them that it was the Lord's order among the Israelites to have all such business committed to the elders, and that it had been never the rule to have chosen some of each sort, &c. They all agreed to go to a new election, which was refered to the next lecture day. 11

The reason why some were not willing that the people should have more land in the bay than they might be likely to use in some reasonable time, was partly to prevent the neglect of trade and other more necessary employments, and partly that

there

1634. Dec. there might be place to receive ſuch as ſhould come after; ſeeing it would be very prejudicial to the Commonwealth, if men ſhould be forced to go far off for land, while others had much, and could make no uſe of it more than to pleaſe their eye with it.

One Abigail Gifford, widow, being kept at the charge of the pariſh of Wilſden in Middleſex near London, was ſent by Mr. Ball's ſhip into this country, and being found to be ſometimes diſtracted, and a very burdenſome woman, the Governor and aſſiſtants returned her back by warrant, to the ſame pariſh,

18 in the ſhip Rebecca.

22 A faſt was kept by the church of Charleſtown, and Mr. Symes choſen their teacher.

By a letter from Plimouth it was certified that the Dutch of Hudſon's River had been at Connecticut, and came in warlike manner to put the Plimouth men out of their houſe there, but when they ſtood upon their defence, they departed, without offering any violence.

11 Mo. 13 The church of Boſton kept a day of humiliation for the abſence of their paſtor and other brethren gone to England, and like to be troubled and detained there, and for that the Lord had made a breach upon them by thoſe four which were drowned, as is before ſet down: at which faſt M. Cotton preached out of Numbers xxxv. 13. and one of the members taught out of that in Samuel iii. 39.—*Wherefore doth a living man complain.?*

19 All the miniſters except Mr. Ward of Ipſwich, met at Boſton, being requeſted by the Governor and aſſiſtants, to conſider of theſe two caſes. 1. What ought to be done if a general Governor ſhould be ſent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the croſs in our banners? In the firſt caſe they all agreed that if a General Governor were ſent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful poſſeſſions (if we were able) otherwiſe to avoid or protract. For the matter of the croſs they were divided, and ſo defered it to another meeting.

About the middle of this month, Mr. Allerton's pinnace came from the French about Port Royal; they went to fetch the two men which had been carried by the French from Machias, and to demand the goods taken. But Mr. La Tour made them anſwer, that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the King of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wiſhing them to take notice and to certify the reſt of the Engliſh that if they traded to the eaſt of Pennaquid he would make prize of them. Being de-

ſired

fired to ſhew his commiſſion, he anſwered, that his ſword was commiſſion ſufficient where he had ſtrength ſufficient to overcome; where that wanted he would ſhew his commiſſion. 1634. Mo. 11.

In the end of this month three men had their boat frozen up at Bird's-Iſland, as they were coming from Deer-Iſland, ſo as they were compelled to lodge there all night, and in the morning they came over the ice to Noddle's-Iſland, and thence to Molten's point in Charleſtown, and thence over the ice by Mr. Hoffe's to Boſton. At the ſame time ſix others were kept a week at the Governor's garden, and in the end got with their boat to Mattahan point; for near all that time there was no open place between the garden and Boſton, neither was there any paſſage at Charleſtown for two or three days, the wind about the N. W. three weeks with much ſnow and extreme froſt.

About the middle of this month a promp young man, ſervant to Mr. Bellingham, paſſing over the ice to Wineſemitt, fell in and was drowned. Divers others fell in in that and other places, but by God's providence were ſaved. Mo. 12.

Capt. Wiggin, Governor at Piſcat. under the Lords Say and Brook, wrote to the Governor, deſiring to have two men tried here who had committed ſodomy with each other, and that on the Lord's day in time of public exerciſe. The Governor and divers of the aſſiſtants met and confered about it, but did not think fit to try them here. 14

A general court at Newtown, Mr. Hooker preached, and ſhewed the three great evils. Mo. 1. 4.

At this court one of the deputies was queſtioned for denying the magiſtracy among us, affirming that the power of the Governor was but miniſterial, &c. and had alſo much oppoſed the magiſtrates and ſtigmatized them, and uſed many weak arguments againſt the negative voice, as himſelf acknowledged upon record. He was adjudged by all the court to be diſabled for three years from bearing any public office.

One of the aſſiſtants was called to the lower end of the table to anſwer for refuſing to pay towards a rate made by the court, and was fined 5l. which was after releaſed.

Mr. Endicott was called to anſwer for defacing the croſs in the enſign, but becauſe the court could not agree about the thing, whether the enſign ſhould be laid by, in regard that many refuſed to follow them, the whole cauſe was deferred till the next general court, and the commiſſioners for military affairs, gave order in the mean time, that all the enſigns ſhould be laid aſide, &c.

1635. At this court braſs farthings were forbidden, and muſket bullets made to paſs for farthings. A commiſſioner for military affairs was eſtabliſhed who had power of life and limb, &c.

15 Two of the elders of every church met at Sagus and ſpent there three days. The occaſion was that divers of the brethren of that church not liking the proceedings of the paſtor, and withal making queſtion whither they were a church or not, did ſeparate from church communion. The paſtor and other brethren deſired the adviſe and help of the reſt of the churches, who not thinking fit to judge of the cauſe without hearing the other ſide, offered to meet at Sagus about it. Upon this the paſtor, &c. required the ſeparate members to deliver their grievances in writing, which they refuſing to do, the paſtor, &c. wrote to all the churches, that for this cauſe they were purpoſed to proceed againſt them as perſons excommunicated, and therefore deſired them to ſtay their journey, &c. This letter being read at a lecture at Boſton (where ſome of the elders of every church were preſent) they all agreed, with conſent of their churches, to go preſently to Sagus to ſtay this haſty proceeding;—accordingly being met, and both parties (after much debate) being heard, it was agreed, that they were a true church, tho not conſtituted at firſt in due order, yet after conſent and practice of a church eſtate, had ſupplied that defect, and ſo all were reconciled.

Mo. 2 Some of our people went to Cape Cod and made ſome oil of a whale which was caſt on ſhore: There were three or four caſt up as it ſeems there is almoſt every year.

26 An alarm was raiſed in all our towns, and the Governor and aſſiſtants met at Boſton, and ſent forth a ſhallop to Cape Anne, to diſcover what ſhips were there, for the fiſhermen had brought in word to Marblehead, that two ſhips had been heaving upon the coaſt all the day; one of about 400 tons, and the other 350, and were gone in to Cape Anne, but it proved to be only one ſhip of 80 tons, bound for Richman's iſle, and the other a ſmall pinnace of 10 tons.

30 The Governor and aſſiſtants ſent for Mr. Williams; the occaſion was for that he had taught publicly, that a magiſtrate ought not to tendre an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worſhip of God, and cauſe him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the miniſters, and very clearly confeſſed. Mr. Endicott was at firſt of the ſame opinion, but gave place to the teacher.

Mo. 3. 6 A general court was held at Newtown, when John Haynes Eſq. was choſen Governor, Richard Bellingham Eſq. deputy Governor,

Governor, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer choſen aſſiſtants to the former; and Mr. Ludlow the late deputy left out of the magiſtracy. The reaſon was partly becauſe the people would exerciſe their abſolute power, and partly upon ſome ſpeeches of the deputy who proteſted againſt the election of the Governor as void: for that the deputies of the ſeveral towns had agreed upon the election before they came. But this was generally diſtruſted, and the election adjudged good. 1635. Mo. 3. 6

Mr. Endicott was alſo left out and called in queſtion about the defacing the croſs in the enſign, and a committee was choſen, viz. every town choſe one (which yet were voted by all the people) and the magiſtrates choſe four, who taking the charge to conſider of the offence, and the cenſure due to it, and to certify the court, after one or two hours they made report to the court, that they found his offence to be great, viz. raſh and without diſcretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not ſeeking advice of the Court, &c.—unwarrantable in that he, judging the croſs to be a ſin, did content himſelf to have reformed it at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it alſo; laying a blemiſh alſo upon the reſt of the magiſtrates, as if they would ſuffer idolatry, and giving occaſion to the ſtate of England, to think ill of us:—for which they adjudged him worthy admonition and to be diſabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier ſentence, becauſe they were perſuaded he did it out of tenderneſs of conſcience and not of any evil intent.

Some petitions of grievances were tendered to the court in the begining of it, but the court refuſed to hear any, or to meddle in any cauſes but making freemen, until the election were paſſed. The Governor and deputy were elected by papers wherein their names were written, but the aſſiſtants were choſen by papers without names, viz. the Governor propounded one to the people when they all went out and came in at one door, and every man delivered a paper into a hat,—ſuch as gave their vote for the party named, gave in a paper with ſome figure or ſcroll in it, others gave in a blank. The new Governor in his ſpeech to the people declared his purpoſe to ſpare their charge towards his allowance this year, partly in reſpect of their love ſhewed towards him, and partly for that he obſerved how much the people had been preſſed lately with public charges, which the poorer ſort did much groan under.

A petition was prefered by many of Dorcheſter for releaſing the ſentence againſt Mr. Stoughton the laſt general court, but it was rejected, and the ſentence affirmed by the country to be juſt. Divers jealoſies that had been between the magiſ-

1635. trates and deputies were now cleared with full ſatisfaction to all parties.

Mo. 3. The matter of altering the croſs in the enſign was refered to the next meeting (the court being adjourned three weeks) it being propounded to turn it to the red and white roſe, and every man was to deal with his neighbours to ſtill their minds, who ſtood ſo ſtiff for the croſs, until we ſhould fully agree about it, which was expected becauſe the miniſters had promiſed to take prayers about it, and to write into England to have the judgement of the moſt wiſe and godly there.

The deputies having conceived great danger to our ſtate, in regard that our magiſtrates, for want of poſitive laws, in many caſes, might proceed according to their diſcretions, it was agreed that ſome men ſhould be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in reſemblance of a *Magna Charta*, which being allowed by ſome of the miniſters, and the general court ſhould be received for fundamental laws.

At this general court ſome of the chief of Ipſwich deſired leave to remove to Quaſcacunquen to begin a town there, which was granted them, and it was named Newberry. Alſo Watertown and Roxbury had leave to remove whither they pleaſed ſo as they continued under this government. The occaſion of their deſire to remove was, for that all towns in the Bay began to be much ſtraightened by their own nearneſs to one another, and their cattle being ſo much increaſed.

21 A Dutch ſhip of 160 tons arrived at Marblehead, Capt. Hurliſton came merchant. She came from Chriſtopher Iſland; ſhe brought 140 tons of ſalt, and 10,000 wt. of tobacco. This Iſland lies in 18° and is about 30 miles in compaſs; inhabited by two colonies, one Engliſh and another French. There is in it about 4,000 perſons, they have three Engliſh churches, but the people are very wicked as this merchant (who dwelt there five years) complained. The ſalt is made with the ſun in a watering pan half a mile from the ſea. Their rain begins in September and continues till February.

Mo. 4. There arrived two Dutch ſhips which brought 27 Flanders mares at 34l. a mare, and three horſes,—63 heifers at 12l. the leaſt; and 88 ſheep at 50s. the ſheep. They came from the Teſſell in 5 weeks 3 days, and loſt not one beaſt or ſheep.

3 There arrived alſo the ſame day the James a ſhip of 300 tons with cattle and paſſengers which came all ſafe from S. Hampton within the ſame time. Mr. Graves was maſter, who had

7 come every year for theſe ſeven years. The Lord's day there came in ſeven other ſhips, and one to Salem, and four more to

the

the mouth of the bay with ſtore of paſſengers and cattle. They came all within ſix weeks. 1635.

For preventing the loſs of time and drunkeneſs which ſome times happened, by peoples running to the ſhips, and the exceſſive prices of commodities, it was ordered that one in each town ſhould buy for all, and ſhould return the ſame within 20 days at 5 per 100, if any came to buy in that time. But this took no good effect, for moſt of the people would not buy except they might buy for themſelves, and the merchants appointed could not diſburſe ſo much money, and the ſeamen were much diſcontented, yet ſome of them brought their goods on ſhore and ſold them there. Mo. 4.

A bark of 40 tons arrived ſet forth with 20 ſervants by Sir Richard Saltonſtall to go plant at Connecticut. By a letter from the Lord Say and report of divers paſſengers, it was certified to us, that Capt. Maſon and others the adverſaries of this colony had built a great ſhip to ſend over the general Governor, &c. which being launched fell aſunder in the midſt. It appeared likewiſe by a copy of a petition ſent over to us, that they had divided all this country of New-England, viz. between St. Croix in the Eaſt, and that of Lord Baltimore called Maryland, into twelve provinces, diſpoſed to twelve in England, who ſhould ſend each ten men to attend the general Governor coming over; but this proved not effectual, the Lord fruſtrated their deſign. 16

Two carpenters going to waſh themſelves in the river between Mount Woollaſton and Weſſagaſus, where carried away with the tide and drowned.

Mr. Graves in ths James, and Mr. Hodges in the Rebecca ſet ſail for the Iſle of Sable for ſea-horſe which are there in great number, and wild cows. Mr. John Roſe being caſt aſhore there in the two years ſince, and making a ſmall pinnace of the wreck of his ſhip, ſailed thence to the French upon the main, being 30 leagues off, by whom he was detained priſoner, and forced to pilot them to the Iſland where they had great ſtore of ſea-horſe and cattle; and ſome black foxes, and they left 17 men upon the Iſland to inhabit it. The Iſland is 30 miles long, two miles broad in moſt places, a meer ſand, yet full of freſh water ponds, &c. He ſaw about 800 cattle ſmall and great, all red, and the largeſt he ever ſaw, and many foxes, whereof ſome perfect black. There is no wood upon it, but ſtore of wild peaſe and flags by the ponds, and graſs. In the middle of it is a pond of ſalt water ten miles long, full of plaice, &c. The June 24.

company

1635. company which went now, carried 12 landmen, 2 maſtiffs, a horſe and a ſhallop.

Aug. 26. They returned from their voyage. They found there upon the Iſland 16 Frenchmen who had wintered there, and built a little fort, and had killed ſome black foxes; they had killed alſo many of the cattle, ſo as they found not above 140, and but two or three calves. They could kill but 5 ſea-horſe by reaſon they were forced to travel ſo far in the ſand as they were too weak to ſtick them, and they came away at ſuch time as they uſed to go up heights to eat green peaſe. The winter there is very cold, and the ſnow above knee deep.

Mo. 5. 8. At the general court Mr. Williams of Salem was ſummoned and did appear. It was laid to his charge, that being under queſtion before the magiſtracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz. 1. That the magiſtrate ought not to furniſh the breach of the firſt table otherwiſe than in ſuch caſes as did diſturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tendre an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with ſuch, tho wife, children, &c. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the ſacrament nor after meat, &c. and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem to admoniſh him of theſe errors; notwithſtanding the church had ſince called him to the office of a teacher. Much debate was about theſe things. The ſaid opinions were adjudged by all, magiſtrates and miniſters (who were deſired to be preſent) to be erroneous and dangerous, and the calling of him to office at that time, was judged a great contempt of authority: So in fine there was given to him and the church of Salem to conſider of theſe things till the next general court, & then either to give ſatisfaction to the court, or elſe to expect the ſentence. It being profeſſedly declared by the miniſters (at the requeſt of the court to give their advice) that he who ſhould obſtinately maintain ſuch opinions (whereby the church might run into hereſy, apoſtacy, or tyranny, and yet the civil magiſtrate could not intermeddle) were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to requeſt the magiſtrates ſo to do.

At this court Weſſagaſcus was made a plantation, and Mr. Hall a miniſter and 21 families with him allowed to ſit down there: after called Weymouth. A plantation was likewiſe erected at Bear Cove, after called Kingham.

12 Mr. Luxon arrived here in a ſmall pinnace; he fiſhed at the Iſle of Shoals as he had done many years, and returned to ſell his fiſh at market, was taken in foggy weather and carried into the bay of Portroyal, and there wrecked upon a ſmall

Iſland

Iſland about leagues from the main; ſo he built a pinnace and came hither in her. 1639.

Salem men had preferred a petition at the laſt general court for ſome land on Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town, but becauſe they had choſen Mr. Williams their teacher while he ſtood under queſtion of authority, and ſo offered contempt to the magiſtrates, &c. their petition was refuſed till, &c. Upon this the church of Salem wrote to other churches to admoniſh the magiſtrates of this as a heineous ſin, and likewiſe the deputies; for which at the next general court their deputies were not received until they ſhould give ſatisfaction about the letter.

The wind having blown hard at S. S. W. a week before, about midnight it came up at N. E. and blew with ſuch violence with abundance of rain, that it blew down many hundreds of trees, overthrew ſome houſes, drove the ſhips from their anchors. The *Great Hope* of Ipſwich being, about 400 tons, was driven on ground at Mr. Hoffe's point, and brought back again preſently by a N. W. wind, and came on ſhore at Charleſtown. About 8 o'clock the wind came about to N. W. very ſtrong, and it being then about high water, by nine the tide was fallen about three feet, then it began to flow again about one hour, and aroſe about two or three feet, which was conceived to be that the ſea was grown ſo high with the N. E. wind, that meeting with the ebbe, it forced it back again. In this tempeſt the James of Briſtol, having 100 paſſengers, honeſt people of Yorkſhire, being put into the Iſle of Shoals, loſt there three anchors, and ſetting ſail no canvaſs nor ropes would hold, but ſhe was driven within a cables length of the rocks of Piſcat. when ſuddenly the wind coming to N. W. put them back to the Iſle of Shoals, and being there ready to ſtrike upon the rocks, they cut out a piece of their mainſail, and weathered the rocks. In the ſame tempeſt a bark of Mr. Allerton's was caſt away upon Cape Anne, and 21 perſons drowned; among the reſt one Mr. Anvey, a miniſter in Wiltſhire a Godly man, with his wife and ſix ſmall children were drowned. None were ſaved but one Mr. Thatcher and his wife who were caſt on ſhore and preſerved by a powder horn and a bag with a flint, and a goat and a cheeſe caſt on ſhore after them, and a truſs of bedding and ſome other neceſſaries: and the third day after a ſhallop came thither to look for another ſhallop which was miſſing in the ſtorm, and ſo they were preſerved:—So as there did appear a miraculous providence in their preſervation. The general court gave Mr. Thatcher £26: 13: 4: towards his loſſes, and divers good people gave him beſides. The Mo. 6. 15.

man

1635. Mo. 6. man was caſt on ſhore when he had been (as he ſuppoſed) a quarter of an hour beaten up and down by the waves, not being able to ſwim one ſtroke, and his wife ſitting in the ſcuttle of the bark, the deck was broke off and brought on ſhore as ſhe ſtuck in it. One of the children was then caſt dead on ſhore, and the reſt never found.

At this time a French ſhip came with commiſſion from the King of France (as they pretended) and took Penobſcott a Plimouth trading houſe, and ſent away the men which were in it, but kept their goods and gave them bills for them, and bade them tell all the plantations as far as 40° that they would come with 8 ſhips next year and diſplant them all. But by a letter which the Capt. wrote to the governor of Plimouth, it appeared they had commiſſion from Monſ. Roſelle commander of the fort near Cape Breton, called la Havre, to diſplant the Engliſh as far as Pemaquid, and by it they profeſſed all coutrefy to us here.

Mr. Williams paſtor of Salem being ſick and not able to ſpeak, wrote to his church a proteſtation that he could not communicate with the churches in the Bay, neither would he communicate with them except they would firſt refuſe communication with the reſt, but the whole church was much grieved herewith.

The Dorcheſter men being ſet dow at Connecticut near the Plimouth trading houſe, the Governor, Mr. Bradford wrote to them, complaining of it as an injury in regard of their poſſeſſion and purchaſe of the Indians whoſe right it was, and the Dutch ſent home into Holland for commiſſion to deal with our People at Connecticut.

Sept. 1. At this general court was the firſt grand jury, who preſented above 100 offences, and among others, ſome of the magiſtrates. At this court Mr. Endicott made a proteſtation in juſtification of the letter formerly ſent from Salem to the other churches againſt the magiſtrates and deputies, for which he was committed, but the ſame day he came and acknowledged his fault and was diſcharged.

Divers lewd ſeavants (viz. ſix) ran away and ſtole a ſkiff and other things. A commiſſion was granted at the general court to Capt. Traſk to fetch them and other ſuch from the Eaſtward. He purſued them to the Iſle of Shoals, and ſo to Piſcat. where, in the night he ſurpriſed them in a houſe, and brought them to Boſton. At next court they were ſeverely whipped, and ordered to pay all charges. At this court there was granted to Mr. Buckly and Merchant, and about 12 more families to begin a town at Muſketaquid for which they were

were allowed six miles upon the river and to be free from public charges three years, and it was named Concord. A town was also began above the falls of Charles river. 1635. Sept.

At the Dutch plantation this summer a ship's long boat was overset with a gust, and five men in her who got upon the keel and were driven to sea four days, in which time three of them dropt off and were drowned; and the 5th day the 4th being sore beaten and parched with hunger and thirst, wilfully fell off and was drowned. Soon after the wind came up at S. E. and carried the boat with the 5th man to the Long-Island, and being only able to creep on shore, he was found by the Indians and preserved. He was grown very poor and almost senseless with hunger and watching, and would say that he saw such and such come to give him meat, &c.

The Plimouth men had hired the Great Hope to go to displant the French and regain their possession at Penobscott. The master Mr. Grig was to have for it 200l. they sent her back with him and about 20 men, but when they came they found the French had notice, and had so strongly entrenched themselves, (being 18) as having spent near all their powder and shot, the bark left the ship there, and came here to advise with us what further to do; for they had lately lost another bark laden with corn, and could not spare this to send back again. The general court being assembled, agreed to aid them with men and ammunition, and therefore wrote to them to send one with commission to treat with us about it, resolving to drive them out whatsoever it should cost (yet first to put them to bear the charge if it might be) for we saw that their neighbourhood would be very dangerous to us. The next week they sent Mr. Pierce and Capt. S——— to us with commission to treat. Four of the commissioners gave them a meeting which grew to this issue; that they refused to deal further in it otherwise than as a common cause of the whole country, and so to contribute their part. We refused to deal in it otherwise than as their aid, and so at their charge, for indeed we had no money in the treasury, neither could we get provision of victuals on the sudden for 100 men which were to be employed, so we defered all to further counsel.

Two shallops going laden with goods to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an Easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Island, near the Gurnett's nose, and the men all drowned. Mo. 8 6

Here arrived two great ships the Defence and the Abigail, with Mr. Wilson pastor of Boston, and Mr. Shepard, Mr. Jones and other ministers. Amongst others Mr. Peters pastor of

1635. Mo. 8. of the Engliſh church in Rotterdam, who being perſecuted by the Engliſh ambaſſador who would have brought his and other churches to the Engliſh diſcipline; and not having had his health theſe many years, intended to adviſe with the miniſters here about his removal.

There came alſo John Winthrop the younger with commiſſion from the Lord Say, Lord Brook and divers other great perſons in England to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be Governor there; they ſent alſo men and ammunition and 2,000l. in money to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river. There came alſo one Mr. Henry Vane, ſon and heir to Sir Henry Vane comptroller of the King's houſe, who being a young gentleman of excellent parts, and had been employed by his father (when he was ambaſſador) in foreign affairs, yet being called to the obedience of the goſpel, he forſook the honours and preferments of the court to enjoy the ordinances of Chriſt in their purity here. His father being very averſe to this way (as no way favouring the power of religion) would hardly have conſented to his coming hither; but acquainting the King with his ſon's diſpoſition and deſire, he commanded him to ſend him hither, and gave him licence for three years ſtay here.

The ſpecial providence of the Lord appeared in this, that the paſſengers came ſafe and hale in all ſhips, tho ſome of them long paſſages, the Abigail ten weeks from Plimouth with 220 perſons and many cattle, infected alſo with the ſmall pox, yet, &c.

This noble gentleman having order from the ſaid Lords and others, treated with the magiſtrates here and thoſe who were to go to Connecticut, about the ſaid deſign of the Lords, to this iſſue, that either the three towns gone thither ſhould give place upon full ſatisfaction, or elſe ſufficient room muſt be found there for the Lords and their companies, &c. or elſe they would divert their thoughts and preparations ſome other ways.

Nov. 1. Mr. Vane was admitted a member of the church of Boſton. At the general court Mr. Williams the teacher of Salem was again convented, and all the Miniſters in the bay being deſired to be preſent, he was charged with the ſaid two letters, that to the churches complaining of the magiſtrates for injuſtice, extreme oppreſſion, &c. and the other to his own church to purſuade them to renounce communion with all the churches in the bay, as full of antichriſt, polution, &c. He juſtified both theſe letters, and maintained all his opinions, and being offered further conference or diſputation and a months reſpite, he choſe to diſpute preſently; ſo Mr. Hooker was appointed to

diſpute

diſpute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors, ſo the next morning the court ſentenced him to depart out of our juriſdiction within ſix weeks; all the miniſters ſave one, approving the ſentence, and his own church had him under queſtion alſo for the ſame cauſe, and he, at his return home, refuſed communion with his own church, who openly diſclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble ſubmiſſion to the magiſtrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches againſt them, &c. 1635. Mo. 4. 8ber 15

About 60 men women and little children went by land towards Connecticut with their cows, heifers and ſwine, and after a tedious and difficult journey, arrived ſafe there.

The Pinnace which Sir Richard Saltonſtall ſent to take poſſeſſion of a great quantity of land at Connecticut was, in her return to England, caſt away upon the Iſle Sable; the men were kindly entertained by the French there, and had paſſage to la Havre, ſome 20 leagues of eaſt of Cape Sable, where Mon. commander of Roſelle, was Governor, who entertained them very courteouſly, and furniſhed them with a ſhallop to return to us, and gave four of their company paſſage into France, but made them pay dear for their ſhallop, and in their return they put into Penobſcot, at ſuch time as Girlings ſhip lay there, ſo that they were kept priſoners there till the ſhip was gone, and then ſent to us with a courteous letter to our Governor. A little before, our Governor had written to him (viz. Monſ. D' Aulnay) to ſend them home to us, but they were come before.

It is uſeful to obſerve, as we go along, ſuch ſpecial providences of God, as were manifeſted for the good of theſe plantations.—Mr. Winſlow the late Governor of Plimouth, being this year in England, petitioned the council there for a commiſſion to withſtand the intruſions of the French and Dutch, which was likely to take effect (though undertaken by ill advice, for ſuch precedents might endanger our liberties, that we ſhould do nothing hereafter but by commiſſion out of England) but the Archbiſhop being incenſed againſt him, as againſt all theſe plantations, informed the reſt that he was a ſeparatiſt, &c. and that he did marry, &c. and thereupon got him committed; but after ſome few months he petitioned the board and was diſcharged.

Another providence was in the voyage of Mr. Winthrop the younger, and Mr. Wilſon into England, who returning in the winter time, in a ſmall and weak ſhip, bound for Barnſtable, were driven by foul weather upon the coaſt of Ireland, not known by any in the ſhip, and were brought through many deſperate dangers into Galloway, where they parted, Mr. Win-

1635. throp taking his journey over land to Dublin, and Mr. Wilson by sea, and being come within sight of Lundy, in the mouth of Severn, they were forced back by tempest to Kinsale, where some ships perished in their view. Mr. Wilson being in Ireland, gave much satisfaction to the christians there about N. England. Mr. Winthrop went to Dublin and from thence to Antrim in the North, and came to the house of one Sir John Clatworth, the evening before the day when divers godly persons were appointed to meet at his house, to confer about their voyage to N. England, by whom they were thoroughly informed of all things, and received great encouragement to proceed on their intended course. From thence he passed over into Scotland, and so through the North of England, and all the way he met with persons of quality whose thoughts were towards N. England, who observed his coming among them as
9ber 3 a special providence of God.

At the court of assistants John Pratt of Newtown was questioned about the letter he wrote into England, wherein he affirmed divers things which were untrue and of ill report, for the state of the country, as there was nothigg but rocks and sands and salt marshes, &c. He desired respite for his answer to the next morning, then he gave it in writing, in which, by making his own interpretation of some passages, and acknowledging his error in others, he gave satisfaction. This was delivered in under his own hand and the hands of Mr. Hooker and some other of the ministers, and satisfaction acknowledged under the hands of the magistrates.

Mr. Winthrop the Governor, appointed by the Lords for Connecticut, sent a bark of 30 tons and about twenty men, with all needful provisions to take possession of the mouth of
9 Connecticut, and to begin some building.

About this time an open pinnace returning from Connecticut was cast away in Manemett bay, but all the men (being six) were saved and came to Plimouth, after they had wandered 10 days in extreme cold and deep snow, not meeting with any
26 Indian or other person.

There came twelve men from Connecticut, they had been ten days upon their journey and had lost one of their company drowned in the ice by the way, and had been all starved. but that by God's grovidence they lighted upon an Indian wigwam. Connecticut river was frozen up the 15th of this month.

Mr. Hugh Peters preaching at Boston and Salem, moved the country to raise a stock for fishing, as the only probable means to save us from that oppression which the seamen and others held us under.

Here

Here arrived a ſmall bark of 25 tons ſent by the Lords Say, &c. with one Gardiner an expert engineer or work baſe and proviſions of all ſorts to begin a fort at the mouth of Connecticut. She came through many great tempeſts, yet through the Lord's great providence, her paſſengers and goods all ſafe. Mr. Winthrop had ſent four days before, a bark with carpenters and other workman to take poſſeſſion of the place (for the Dutch intended to take it) and to raiſe ſome buildings. 1635. 9ber 28

A great ſhallop coming from Piſcat. in a N. E. wind with ſnow, loſt her way and was forced into Anaſquam, and going out with a N. W. wind, thro the unſkilfulneſs of the men, was caſt upon the rocks and loſt 100l. worth of goods.

A ſhallop of William Lovell, laden with goods to Salem, worth 100l. was by foul weather put into Plimouth, and coming out, the men went aboard a ſmall bark by the way, and their ſhallop brake looſe and was loſt, and about two months after was found about Nawſet, not much hurt, and the goods were moſt of them ſaved by ſome Plimouth men, who had notice of it by the Indians.

The ſhip Rebecca, about 60 tons, came from Connecticut and brought in her about ſeventy men and women, which came down to the river's mouth to meet the barks which ſhould have brought their proviſions, but not meeting them they went aboard the Rebecca, which two days before was frozen 20 miles up the river, but a ſmall rain falling, ſet her free: but coming out ſhe ran on ground at the mouth of the river and was forced to unlade. They came to Maſſachuſetts in five days, which was a great mercy of God, for otherwiſe they had all periſhed with famine, as ſome did. While the Rebecca lay there the Dutch ſent a ſhip to take poſſeſſion of the mouth of the river, but our men got two pieces on ſhore and would not ſuffer them to land. 10ber 16

The 2d and 3d of this month fell a ſnow about knee deep with much wind from the N. and N. E.

Mr. Norton, a Godly man and a preacher in England, coming with his family to the Maſſachuſetts, the ſhip wherein he was, was by contrary winds, put into Plimouth, where he continued preaching to them all the winter, and altho Mr. Smith their paſtor gave over his place that he might have it, and the church uſed him with all reſpect, and large offers, &c. yet he left them and came to Maſſachuſetts, alledging that his ſpirit could not cloſe with them, &c.

The Governor and aſſiſtants met at Boſton to conſider about Mr. Williams, for that they were credibly informed, that notwithſtanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted 11 Mo. Jan.

1633. granted him to ſtay till the ſpring) not to go about to draw
Æt. 11. others to his opinions, did uſe to entertain company in his houſe, and to preach to them even of ſuch points as he had been cenſured for, and it was agreed to ſend him into England by a ſhip then ready to depart. The reaſon was becauſe he had drawn above twenty perſons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Naraganſett Bay, from whence the infection would eaſily ſpread into theſe churches (the people being many of them much taken with the apprehenſion of his godlineſs) whereupon a warrant was ſent to him to come preſently to Boſton, to be ſhipped, &c. He returned anſwer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not come without hazard of his life, &c. whereupon a pinnace was ſent with commiſſion to Capt. Underhill, &c. to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ſhip, which then rode at Natascatt, but when they came at his houſe, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn. He had ſo far prevailed at Salem, as many there (eſpecially of devout women) did embrace his opinions and ſeparated from the churches for this cauſe, that ſome of their members going into England did hear the miniſters there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them.

This month one went by land to Connecticut and returned ſafe.

Mr. Hugh Peters went from place to place labouring both publicly and privately, to raiſe up men to a public frame of ſpirit, and ſo prevailed as he procured a good ſum of money to be raiſed to ſet on foot the fiſhing buſineſs, to the value of and wrote into England to raiſe as much more. The intent was to ſet up a magazine of all proviſions and other neceſſaries for fiſhing, that men might have things at hand and for reaſonable prices, whereas now the merchants and ſeamen took advantage to ſell at moſt exceſſive rates, (in many things two for one).

Mr. Batchelor of Sagus was convented before the magiſtrates. The cauſe was,—for that coming out of England with a ſmall body of ſix or ſeven perſons, and having ſince received in many more at Sagus, and contention growing between him and the greateſt part of his church, who had with the reſt, received him for their paſtor, he deſired diſmiſſion for himſelf and his firſt members which being granted upon ſuppoſition that he would leave the town, (as he had given out) he with the ſaid ſix or ſeven perſons preſently removed their old covert, intending to raiſe another church in Sagus, whereat the reſt and chief of the town being offended, for that it would

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Mr. Vane and Mr. Peters finding ſome diſtraction in the Commonwealth, ariſing from ſome difference in judgment, and withal ſome alienation of affection among the magiſtrates and ſome other perſon of quality, and that hereby factions began to grow among the people, ſome adhering more to the old Governor Mr. Winthrop, and others to the late Governor Mr. Dudley; the former carrying matters with more lenity and the latter with more ſeverity, they procured a meeting at Boſton of the Governor, deputy, Mr. Cotton. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilſon, and there was preſent Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and themſelves,—where after the Lord had been ſought, Mr. Vane declared the occaſion of this meeting (as it is before noted) and the fruit aimed at, viz. a more firm and friendly uniting of minds, and eſpecially of the ſaid Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop, as thoſe upon whom the weight of the affairs did lie, &c. and therefore deſired all preſent to take up reſolution to deal freely and openly with the parties, and they each with other, that nothing might be leſt in their breaſts which might break out to any jar or difference hereafter (which they promiſed to do, Then Mr. Winthrop ſpake to this effect,—That when it pleaſed Mr. Vane to acquaint him with what he had obſerved, of the diſpoſitions of mens minds inclining to the ſaid faction, &c. it was very ſtrange to him, profeſſing ſolemnly that he knew not of any breach between his brother Dudley and himſelf ſince they were reconciled long ſince, neither did he ſuſpect any alienation of affection in him or others, from himſelf, ſave that of late he had obſerved that ſome newcomers had eſtranged themſelves from him ſince they went to dwell at Newtown, and ſo deſired all the the company that if they had ſeen any thing amiſs in his government or otherwiſe, they would deal freely and faithfully with him, and for his part he promiſed to take it in good part, and would endeavour by God's grace to amend in it. Then Mr. Dudley ſpake to this effect,—That for his part he came thither a mere patient, not with any intent to charge his brother Winthrop with any thing, for tho there had been formerly ſome differences and

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1635. breaches between them, yet they had been healed, and for his
Mo. 11. part he was not willing to renew them again, and ſo left it to others to utter their own complaint.—Whereupon the Governor Mr. Haynes ſpake to this effect.—That Mr. Winthrop and himſelf had always been in good terms, therefore he was loth to give any offence to him, and he hoped that conſidering what the end of this meeting was, he would take it in good part if he did deal openly and freely, as his manner ever was. Then he ſpake of one or two paſſages wherein he conceived that he had dealt too remiſsly in point of juſtice; to which Mr. Winthrop anſwered, that his ſpeeches and carriage had been in part miſtaken, but withal profeſſed that it was his judgment,—that in the infancy of plantations juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered with more lenity than in a ſettled ſtate, becauſe people were then more apt to tranſgreſs, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppreſſion of buſineſs and other ſtreights, but if it might be made clear that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a ſtricter courſe. Then the miniſters were deſired to conſider of the queſtion by the next morning, and to ſet down a rule in the caſe.—The next morning they delivered their ſeveral reaſons which all ſerved to this concluſion, that ſtrict diſcipline both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a ſettled ſtate, as tending to the honor and ſafety of the goſpel. Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he was convinced that he had failed in over much lenity and remiſſneſs, and would endeavour (by God's aſſiſtance) to take a more ſtrict courſe hereafter, whereupon there was a renewal of love amongſt them, and articles drawn to this effect.

1. That there ſhould be more ſtrictneſs uſed in civil government and military diſcipline.

2. That the magiſtrates ſhould, as far as might be, ripen their conſultations before hand, that their vote in public might be as the voice of God.

3. That in the meetings out of court, the magiſtrates ſhould not diſcuſs the buſineſs of parties in their preſence, nor deliver their opinions, &c.

4. That trivial things, &c. ſhould be ordered in towns,

5. If differences fall out among them in public meetings they ſhall obſerve theſe rules: 1. Not to touch any perſon differing, but ſpeak to the cauſe. 2. To expreſs their difference in all modeſty and due reſpect to the court and ſuch as differ, &c. 3. Or to propound their difference by way of queſtion. 4. Or deſire a defering of the cauſe to further time. 5. After ſentence (if all have agreed) none ſhall intimate his diſlike privately,

vately, or if one diſent he ſhall ſit down without ſhewing any further diſtaſte, public or private. 1635.

6. The magiſtrates ſhall be more familiar and open each to other, and more frequent in viſitations, and ſhall in tenderneſs and love admoniſh one another, without reſerving any ſecret grudge, and ſhall avoid all jealouſies and ſuſpicions, each ſeeking the honor of another, and all, of the court, not opening the nakedneſs of one another to private perſons, in all things ſeeking the ſafety and credit of the goſpel.

7. To honor the Governor in ſubmitting to him the main direction and ordering the buſineſs of the court.

8. One aſſiſtant ſhall not ſeem to gratify any man in undoing or croſſing anothers proceedings without due advice with him.

9. They ſhall grace and ſtrenthen their under officers in their places, &c.

10. All contempt againſt the court or any of the magiſtrates ſhall be ſpecially noticed and puniſhed, and the magiſtrates ſhall appear more ſolemnly in public with attendence, apparel, and open notice of their entrance into the court.

Mr. Shepard a godly miniſter, come lately out of England, and divers other good chriſtians, intending to raiſe a church body, came and acquainted the magiſtrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They alſo ſent to all the neighbouring churches for their elders to give their aſſiſtance at a certain day at Newtown, when they ſhould conſtitute their body. Accordingly at this day there met a great aſſembly, where the proceeding was as followeth. Mo. 12 1

Mr. Shepherd and two others who were after to be choſen to office, ſat together in the elders ſeat; then the elder of them began with prayer, after this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confeſſion of ſin, &c. and exerciſed out of Eph. v. that he might make it to himſelf a holy, &c. and alſo opened the cauſe of their meeting. Then the elder deſired to know of the churches aſſembled what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon ſome of the ancients miniſters confering ſhortly together gave anſwer,—That the ſcripture did not ſet down any certain rule for the number, three (they thought) were too few, becauſe by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three, but that ſeven might be a fit number; and for their proceeding they adviſed, that ſuch as were to join ſhould make confeſſion of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them, which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd firſt, then four others, then the elder and one who was to be

deacon

1635. deacon (who had alſo prayed) and another member: then the covenant was read, and they all gave a ſolemn aſſent to it. Then
Mo. 12. the elder deſired of the churches, that if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowſhip. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon ſhort ſpeech with ſome other near him) in the name of the churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a ſhort ſpeech of their aſſent, and deſired the peace of the Lord's preſence to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the reſt of his body about the nature of their covenant, and to ſtand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a moſt heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the aſſembly that they were intended to chooſe Mr. Shepherd for their paſtor (by the name of the brother who had exerciſed) and deſired the churches that if they had any thing to except againſt him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their aſſiſtance, and ſo left them to the Lord.

At the laſt general court it was refered to the military commiſſioners to appoint colours for each company, who did accordingly, and left out the croſs in all of them, appointing the King's arms to be put into that of Caſtle Iſland, and Boſton to be the firſt company.

3 Mr. John Maverick teacher of the church of Dorcheſter died, being near 60 years of age. He was a man of a very humble ſpirit and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord here both in the churches and civil ſtate.

24. Mr. Winſlow of Plimouth came to treat with thoſe of Dorcheſter about their land at Connecticut, which they had taken from them. It being doubtful whether that place was within our patent or not; the Plimouth men about three years ſince, had treaty with us about joining in erecting a plantation and trade there. We thought not fit to do any thing then, but gave them leave to go on. Whereupon they bought a portion of land of the Indians, and built a houſe there, and the Dorcheſter men (without their leave) were now ſetting down their town in the ſame place, but after, they deſired to agree with them; for which end Mr. Wilſon came to treat with them, and demanded one ſixteenth part of their lands, and 100l. which thoſe of Dorcheſter not conſenting unto, they brake off, thoſe of Plimouth expecting to have due recompence after by courſe of juſtice, if they went on. But divers reſolved to quit the place if they could not agree with thoſe of Plimouth.

25 The diſtractions about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great ſcarcity of corn, &c. occaſioned a general faſt to be proclaimed, which,

becauſe

becauſe the court was not at hand, was moved by the elders of the churches, and aſſented unto by the miniſters. The church of Boſton renewed their covenant this day, and made a large explanation of that which they had at firſt entered into, and acknowledged ſuch failings as had fallen out, &c. 1636.

A man's ſervant in Boſton, having ſtolen from his maſter, and being threatened to be brought before the magiſtrates, went and hanged himſelf. Herein three things are obſervable. 1. That he was a very profane fellow, given to curſing, &c. and did uſe to go out of the aſſembly upon the Lord's day to rob his maſter. 2. The manner of his death, being with a ſmall codline, and his knees touching the flour of the chamber, and one coming in when he was ſcarce dead (who was a maid and while ſhe went to call out, he was paſt recovery). 3. His diſcontent, ariſing from the long time he was to ſerve his maſter (though he were well uſed). The ſame day came a letter from his father out of the Bermuda, with money to buy out his time. Mo. 1. 8

The Rebecca came from Bermuda with thirty thouſand weight of potatoes, and ſtore of oranges and lemons, which were a great relief to our people; but their corn was ſold to the W. Indies three months before. Potatoes were bought for 2/8. and ſold here for 2*d*. the pound.

Some occaſion of difference had fallen out between the church of Charlſtown and Mr. James their paſtor. The teacher Mr. Simes and the moſt of the brethren had taken offence at divers ſpeeches of his, he being a very melancholic man, and full of cauſeleſs jealouſies, &c. for which they had dealt with him both privately and publicly; but receiving no ſatisfaction, they wrote to all the neighbouring churches for their advice and help in the caſe, who ſending choſen men (moſt elders) they met there this day, and finding the paſtor very faulty, yet becauſe they had not proceeded with him in a due order (for of the two witneſſes produced, one was the accuſor) they adviſed, that if they could not comfortably cloſe, himſelf and ſuch as ſtood on his part (if they would) ſhould deſire diſmiſſion, which ſhould be granted them, for avoiding extremities, but if he perſiſted, &c. the church ſhould caſt him out. 11.

Mr. Allerton returned in his pinnace from the French at Penobſcott, his bark was caſt upon an Iſland and beat 30.

1636. out her keel and ſo lay ten days, yet he got help from Pemaquid, and mended her and brought her home.

Mr. Withers in a veſſel of 50 tons, going to Virginia, was caſt away upon Long Iſland with a W.N.W, wind; the company (being about 30) were moſt of them very profane perſons, and in their voyage did much reproach our colony, vowing they would hang, drown, or &c. before they would come hither again. Seven were drowned in landing, ſome got, in a boat, to the dutch plantation: two were killed by the Indians, who took all ſuch goods as they left on ſhore. Thoſe who eſcaped went towards Virginia in a dutch bark, and were never heard of after, but were thought to be wrecked by ſome dutch pails, &c. found by the Indians thereabouts.

Mo. 2. 11 Mr. Mather and others of Dorcheſter, intending to begin a new church there (a great part of the old one being gone to Connecticut) deſired the approbation of the other churches and of the magiſtrates, and accordingly they aſſembled this day, and after ſome of them had given proof of their gifts, they made confeſſion of their faith which was approved of; but proceeding to manifeſt the work of God's grace in themſelves, the churches by their elders, and the magiſtrates, &c. thought them not meet at preſent to be the foundation of a church, and thereupon they were content to forbear to join 'till further conſideration. The reaſon was for that moſt of them (Mr. Mather and one more excepted) had burdened their comfort of ſalvation upon unſound grounds. viz. Some upon dreams and raviſhes of ſpirit by fits; others upon the reformation of their lives; others upon duties and performances, &c. wherein they diſcovered three ſpecial errors. 1. That they had not come to hate ſin becauſe it was filthy, but only leſt it becauſe it was hurtful. 2. That by reaſon of this they had never truly cloſed with Chriſt (or rather Chriſt with them) but had made uſe of him only to help the imperfection of their ſanctification and duties, and not made him their ſanctification, wiſdom, &c. 3. They expected to believe by ſome power of their own, and not only and wholy from Chriſt.

Thoſe of Dorcheſter who had removed their cattle to Connecticut before winter, loſt the greateſt part of them this winter, yet ſome which came late and could not be put over the river, lived very well all the winter without any hay. The people alſo were put to great ſtreights for want of proviſions; they eat acorns and malt and grains; they loſt near £.2000 worth of cattle.

At a general court it was ordered that a certain number of the magiſtrates ſhould be choſen for life. The reaſon was, for that it was ſhewed from the word of God, &c. that the principal magiſtrates ought to be for life. Accordingly the 25th of the 3d Mo. John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were choſen to this place, and Henry Vane by his place of Governorſhip was Preſident of this council for his year. It was likewiſe ordered that quarter courts ſhould be kept in ſeveral places for eaſe of the people, and in regard of the ſtreights of victuals, the remote towns ſhould ſend their votes by proxy to the court of elections; and that no church ſhould be allowed that was gathered without the conſent of the churches and the magiſtrates. 1636.

Mr. Benjamin's houſe burnt and £.100 in goods loſt.

The Charity of Dartmouth of 120 tons arrived here laden with proviſions. She came in with a ſtrong N.W. wind, and was in great danger to have been loſt between Allerton point and Nataſcott, but the Lord in mercy to his people, delivered her after ſhe had ſtruck twice and upon the cliff. Mr. Peters bought all the proviſions at 50 in the 100, which ſaved the country £.200 and diſtributed them to all the towns as each town needed, 12

The church of Salem was ſtill infeſted with Mr. Williams his opinions, ſo as moſt of them held it unlawful to hear in the ordinary aſſemblies in England, becauſe their foundation was antichriſtian, and we ſhould, by hearing, hold communion with them; and ſome went ſo far as they were ready to ſeparate from the church upon it. Whereupon the church ſent two brethren and a letter to the elders of the other churches for their advice in three points. 1. Whether, for ſatisfying the weak, they might promiſe not to hear in any falſe church—this was not thought ſafe, becauſe then they would draw them to the like towards the other churches here, who were all of opinion that it was lawful, and that hearing was not holding communion. 2. If they were not better, to grant them diſmiſſion to be a church by themſelves. This was alſo oppoſed, for that it was not a remedy of God's ordering; neither would the magiſtrates allow them to be a church, being but three men and eight women; beſides it were dangerous to raiſe churches upon ſuch grounds. 3. Whether they ought then to excommunicate them if they did withdraw. This was granted, yet withall, that if they did not withdraw or run into contempt, they ought in

theſe

1636. theſe matters of difference of opinion in things not fundamental nor ſcandalous, &c. to bear each with other.

Mr. Peters preaching at Boſton, made an earneſt re-
Mo. 3. 15 queſt to the church for things. 1. That they would ſpare their teacher Mr. Cotton, for a time, that he might go through the bible and raiſe marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the ſcripture. 2. That a new book of might be made, to begin where the other had left. 3. That a form of church government might be drawn according to the ſcripture. 4. That they would take order for employment of people, eſpecially women and children, in the winter time, for he feared that idleneſs would be the vice both of church and commonwealth.

Here arived a ſhip called the St. Patrick, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, one Palmer maſter. When ſhe came near Caſtle Iſland, the Lieutenant of the fort went aboard her, and made her ſtrike her flag, which the maſter took as a great injury, and complained of it to the magiſtrates, who calling the Lieutenant before them, heard the cauſe, and declared to the maſter that he had no commiſſion ſo to do. And becauſe he had made them ſtrike to the fort (which had then no colours aboard) they tendred the maſter ſuch ſatisfaction as he deſired, which was only this, that the Lieutenant aboard their ſhip, ſhould acknowledge his error, that ſo all the ſhips company might receive ſatisfaction, leſt the Deputy ſhould have been informed that we had offered that diſ-courteſy to his ſhip, which we had never offered to any before.

25 Henry Vane, Eſq. before mentioned, was choſen Governor, and becauſe he was ſon and heir to a privy counſellor in England, the ſhips congratulated his election with a volley of great ſhot. The next week he invited all the maſters (there were 15 great ſhips) to dinner. After they had dined he propounded three things to them. 1. That all ſhips which ſhould come after this year, ſhould come to an anchor before they came at the fort, except they did ſend their boat before and did ſatisfy the commander that they were friends. 2. That before they offered any goods to ſale they would deliver an invoice, and give the Governor, &c. 24 hours liberty to refuſe, &c. 3. That their men might not ſtay on ſhore (except upon neceſſary buſineſs) after ſunſet. Theſe things they willingly condeſcended unto.

Mr. Hooker, paſtor of the church of Newtown, and the

the reſt of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horſe litter, and they drove 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way. 1636.

The laſt winter Capt. Maſon died. He was the chief mover in all attempts againſt us, and was to have ſent the General Governor, and for this end was providing ſhipping. But the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the buſineſs fell on ſleep, ſo as ſhips came and brought what and whom they would, without any queſtion or controul.

Divers of the ſhips this ſpring, both out of the Downs and from Holland, came in five weeks. Mr. Ball his ſhip went from hence to England the 16th of January, and ſaw land there in 18 days.

One Miller, maſter's mate in the Hector, ſpake to ſome of our people aboard his ſhip, that becauſe we had not the King's colours at our fort, we were all traitors and robbers, &c. The Governor ſent for the maſter, Mr. Ferne, and acquainted him with it, who promiſed to deliver him to us: whereupon we ſent the marſhall and four ſerjeants to the ſhip for him, but the maſter not being aboard, they would not deliver him; whereupon the maſter went himſelf and brought him to the court, and the words being proved againſt him by two witneſſes, he was committed. The next day the maſter to pacify his men who were in a great tumult, requeſted he might be delivered to him, and did undertake to bring him before us again the day after, which was granted him, and he brought him to us at the time appointed. Then in the preſence of all the reſt of the maſters, he acknowledged his offence, and ſet his hand to a ſubmiſſion, and was diſcharged. Then the Governor deſired the maſters that they would deal freely, and tell us if they did take any offence, and what they required of us. They anſwered, that in regard they ſhould be examined upon their return, what colours they ſaw here, they did deſire that the King's colours might be ſuſpended at our fort. It was anſwered that we had not the King's colours. Thereupon two of them did offer them freely to us. We replied, that for our part we were fully perſuaded that the croſs in the enſign was idolatrous, and therefore might not ſet it in our enſign, but becauſe the fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, we thought that his own colours might be ſuſpended there, ſo the Governor accepted the colours of Capt. Palmer, and promiſed they ſhould be ſet up at Caſtle

Iſland.

1636. We had conferred over night with Mr. Cotton, &c. about the point. The Governor, and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton, were of opinion, that they might be ſet up at the fort upon this diſtinction, that it was maintained in the King's name. Others not being ſo perſuaded, anſwered, that the Governor and Mr. Dudley, being two of the council, and being perſuaded of the lawfulneſs, &c. might uſe their power to ſet them up: ſome others being not ſo perſuaded, could not join in the act, yet would not oppoſe, as being doubtful, &c.

Mo. 5. 2 The Governor, &c. went to Salem. Many ſhips being ready at Nataſcott to ſet ſail, Mr. Peters went down and preached aboard the Hector, and the ſhips going forth met with an Eaſt wind, which put them in again, whereupon he ſtayed and kept the ſabbath with them.

5 Mr. Buckly, and Mr. Jones, two Engliſh miniſters, appointed this day to gather a church at Newtown, to ſettle at Concord. They ſent word three days before, to the Governor and Deputy, to deſire their preſence, but they took it in ill part, aed thought not fit to go, becauſe they had not come to them before, to acquaint them with their purpoſe.

20 Jo. Gallop with one man more, and two little boys comming from Connecticut in a bark of 20 tons, intending to put in at Long Iſland to trade, and being near the mouth of the harbour, was forced by a ſudden change of the wind, to bear up for Block Iſland or Fiſhers Iſland, lying before Naraganſett, where they eſpied a ſmall pinnace, which drawing near unto they found to be Mr. Oldham's (an old planter, and a member of Watertown congregation, who had been long out a trading, having with him only two Engliſh boys, and two Indians of Naraganſett) ſo they hailed them, but had no anſwer, and the deck was full of Indians (14 in all) and a canoe was gone from her full of Indians and goods: whereupon they ſuſpected they had killed Jo. Oldham, and the rather becauſe the Indians let ſlip and ſet ſail, being two miles from ſhore, and the wind and tide being off the ſhore of the Iſland, whereby they drove toward the main at Naraganſett. Whereupon they went ahead of them, and having but two pieces and two piſtols, and nothing but duck ſhot, they bear up near the Indians, who ſtood ready armed with guns, pikes and ſwords, and let fly among them, and ſo galled them that they all got under hatches. Then they ſtood off again, and returning with a good gale,

gale, they ſtemed her upon the quarter and almoſt over- 1636.
ſet her, which ſo frightened the Indians as ſix of them leaped overboard and were drowned: yet they durſt not board her, but ſtood off again, and fitted their anchor, ſo as ſtemming her the ſecond time, they bored her boom through with their anchor, and ſo ſticking faſt to her, they made divers ſhot through her (being but inch board) and ſo raked her fore and aft, as they muſt needs kill or hurt ſome of the Indians, but ſeeing none of them come forth, they got looſe from her and ſtood off again, then four or five of the Indians leaped into the ſea and were likewiſe drowned; ſo there being now but four left in her, they boarded her. whereupon one Indian came up and yielded; him they bound and put into the hold, then another yielded, whom they bound, but Jo. Gallop being well acquainted with their ſkill to untie themſelves, if two of them were together, and having no place to keep them aſſunder, he threw him bound into the ſea, and looking about, they found Jo. Oldham under an old ſeine, his head cleft to the brains, and his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, and yet warm, ſo they put him into the ſea, but could not get to the other two Indians who were in a little room underneath with their ſwords, ſo they took the goods which were left, and the ſails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind riſing, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Naraganſett ſhore,

The two Indians which were with Mr. Oldham, and 26
one other came from Canonicus the chief ſachem of Naraganſett, with a letter from Mr. Williams to the Governor, to certify him what had befallen Mr. Oldham, and how grievouſly they were afflicted, and that Miantonimoh was gone with 17 canoes and 20 men to take revenge. But upon examination of the Indian who was brought priſoner to us, we found that all the ſachems of the Naraganſett, except Conanicus and Miantonimoh, were the contrivers of Mr. Oldham's death; and the occaſion was becauſe he went to make peace and trade with tha Pekods laſt year, as is before related. The priſoner ſaid alſo, that Mr. Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it: but becauſe they were ſent as meſſengers from Conanicus, we would not impriſon them. But the Governor wrote back to Mr. Williams to let the Naraganſett's know that we expected they ſhould ſend us the two boys, and take revenge upon the Iſlanders, and withal gave Mr. Williams

1636. liams a caution to look to himſelf if we ſhould have occaſion to make war upon the Naraganſetts, for Block Iſ-
28 land was under them. And the next day he wrote to Canonicus by one of thoſe two Indians, and that he had ſuſpicion of him, yet he had ſent him back becauſe he was a meſſenger, but did expect that if he ſhould ſend for the ſaid two Indians, he ſhould ſend them to us to clear themſelves.

30 Mr. Oldham's two boys were ſent home by one of Miantinomoh his men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, ſignifying that Miantonimoh had cauſed the ſachem of Niantick to ſend to Block Iſland for them; and that he had near 100 fathom of wampom and other goods of Mr. Oldham's, which ſhould be reſerved for us, and that three of the ſeven which were drowned were ſachems, and one of the two which were hired by the ſachem of Niantick, was dead alſo. So we wrote back to him to have the reſt of thoſe which were acceſſory, to be ſent to us, and the reſt of the goods, and that he ſhould tell Conanicus and Miantonimoh, that we held them innocent, but that ſix other under ſachems were guilty.

Mo. 6. 3 Samuel Maverick, who had been in Virginia near twelve months, now returned with two pinnaces, and brought 14 heifers, and about 80 goats (having loſt about 20 goats by the way) one of his pinnaces was about 40 tons, of cedar, built at and brought to Virginia by Capt. Powell, who there dying, ſhe was ſold for a ſmall matter. There died in Virginia (by his relation) this laſt year, above 1800, and corn was there at twenty ſhillings the buſhel, the moſt of the people having lived a great time of nothing but purſlain, &c. It is very ſtrange what was related by him and many others, that above 60 miles up James river, they dig no where but they find the ground full of oyſter ſhells, and fiſhes bones, &c. yet he affirmed that he ſaw the bone of a whale taken out of the earth (where they digged a well) 18 feet deep,

8 Lieut. Edward Gibbons, and John Higginſon, with Cutſhamackin the ſagamore of Maſſachuſetts, were ſent to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of Jo. Oldham. 13th. They returned, being very well accept-
13 ed and good ſucceſs in their buſineſs. They obſerved in the ſachem much ſtate, great command over his men, and marvelous wiſdom in his anſwers, and the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himſelf and his neighbours of the murder,

murder, and offering aſſiſtance for revenge of it, yet upon very ſafe and wary conditions. 1696.

The Governor and Council having lately aſſembed the reſt of the magiſtrates and miniſters, to adviſe with them about doing juſtice upon the Indians for the death of Mr. Oldham, and all agreeing that it ſhould be attempted with expedition, did this day ſend forth 90 men, diſtributed to four commanders, Capt. John Underhill, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, enſign Jenyſon, and enſign Davenport, and over them all as General, Jo. Endicott, Eſq. one of the aſſiſtants was ſent. They were embarked in three pinnaces, and carried two ſhallops and two Indians with them. They had commiſſion to put to death the men of Block Iſland, but to ſpare the women and children, and to bring them away and to take poſſeſſion of the Iſland. From thence to go to the Pequods to demand the murderers of Capt. Stone, and other Engliſh, and 1,000 fathom of wampom for damages, and ſome of their children for hoſtages, which if they ſhould refuſe, they were to obtain it by force. No man was impreſſed for this ſervice, but all went volunteers. 25

Miantonomoh ſachem of Naraganſett, ſent a meſſenger to us, with a letter from Mr. Williams, to ſignify to us that they had taken one of the Indians who had broken priſon, and was eſcaped away, and had him ſafe for us when we would ſend for him (we had before ſent to him for that end) and the other being alſo of Block Iſland, he had ſent away, not knowing, as it ſeemed, that he had been our priſoner, according to their promiſe that they would not entertain any of that Iſland which ſhould come to them. But we conceived it was rather in love to him, for he had been his ſervant formerly. We ſent for the two Indians, one was ſent us, the other was dead before the meſſengers came. 26

A ſhip of 120 tons was built at Marblehead and called the Deſire.

At a general court a levy was made of £.1200 to pay the country's debts. 7ber. 8

The trade of beaver and wampom was to be farmed, and all others reſtrained from trading.

A new church was gathered at Dorcheſter, with approbation of the magiſtrates and elders, &c. 23

John Endicott, Eſq. and four Captains under him, with 20 men a piece, ſet ſail. They arrived at Block Iſland the laſt of the ſame. The wind blowing hard at N.E. there 24

1636. went ſo great a ſurf as they had much to do to land; and about 40 Indians were ready upon the ſhore to entertain them with their arrows, which they ſhot off at our men, but being armed with croſlets, they had no hurt, only one was lightly hurt upon his neck, and another near his feet. So ſoon as our men were leaped on ſhore, they fled. The Iſland is about ten miles long, and four broad, full of ſmall hills, and all overgrown with bruſh wood of oak, no good timber on it; ſo as they could not march but one file and in the narrow paths. There were two plantations three miles in ſunder, and about 60 wigwams, ſome very large and fair and about 200 acres of corn, ſome gathered and laid on heaps, and the reſt ſtanding. When they ſpent two days in ſearching the Iſland and could not find the Indians, they burnt the wigwams and all their matts and ſome corn, and ſtaved ſeven canoes and departed. They could not tell what men they killed, but ſome were wounded and carried away by their fellows. Then they went to the mouth of Connecticut where they lay wind-bound four days, and taking thence 20 men and two ſhallops, they ſailed to the Pequot harbour, where an Indian came to them in a canoe, and demanded what they were and what they would have. The general told him he came from the governor of Maſſachuſetts, to ſpeak with their ſachems. He told him Saſſacus was gone to Long-Iſland. Then he bad him go tell the other ſachems, and ſo he departed, and in the mean time our men landed, but with much danger, if the Indians had made uſe of their advantage, for all the ſhore was high ragged rocks. Then the meſſenger returned, and the Indians began to gather about our men 'till there were about 300 of them, and ſome four hours had paſſed while the meſſenger went to and fro, bringing ſtill excuſes for the ſachems not coming; at length the General told the meſſenger and the reſt of the Indians near, the particulars of his commiſſion, and ſent him to tell the ſachem if he would not come to him, nor yield to thoſe demands, he would fight with them. The meſſenger told him the ſachem would meet him, if our men would lay down their arms, as his men ſhould their bows. When the General ſaw they did but dally to gain time, he bid them be gone and ſhift for themſelves, for they had dared the Engliſh to come fight with them, and now they were come for that purpoſe. Whereupon they all withdrew—Some of our men would have made a ſhot at them, but the General would not ſuffer them: but when

when they were gone out of muſket ſhot he marched after them ſuppoſing they would have ſtood to it a while, as they did to the Dutch ; but they all fled and ſhot at our men from the thickets and rocks, but did us no harm. Two of them our men killed, and hurt others. So they marched up to their town and burnt all their wigwams and matts, but their corn being ſtanding, they could not ſpoil it. At night they returned to their veſſels, and the next day they went a ſhore on the weſt ſide of the river and burnt all their wigwams and ſpoiled their canoes, and ſo ſet ſail and came to the Naraganſett where they landed their men, and the 14th of September they came all ſafe to Boſton, which was a marvellous providence of God, that not a hair fell from the head of any of them, nor any ſick or feeble perſon among them. As they came by Naraganſett, Cutſhamakin an Indian who went with them for an interpreter, who being armed with a croſlet and a piece, had crept into a Swamp and killed a Pequot, and having flead off the ſkin of his head, he ſent it to Canonicus, who preſently ſent it to all the ſachems about him, and returned many thanks to the Engliſh, and ſent four fathom of wampom to Cutſhamakin. 1636.

The ſoldiers who went were all volunteers and had only their victuals provided, but demanded no pay. The whole charge of the voyage came to about 200l. The ſeamen had all wages.

The Naraganſett men told us after, that 13 of the Pequots were killed, and 40 wounded; and but one of Block Iſland killed.

At the laſt general court order was taken to reſtrain the trade with the Indians, and the Governor and Council appointed to lett it to farm, for a rent to be paid to the treaſury.

The inhabitants of Boſton, who had taken their farms and lots at mount Woollaſton, finding it very burdenſome to have their buſineſs ſo far off, deſired to gather a church there; many meetings were about it. The great lett was, in regard it was given to Boſton for upholding the town and church there, which end would be fruſtrated by the removal of ſo many chief men as would go thither. For helping of this it was propounded that ſuch as dwelt there, ſhould pay ſix pence the acre yearly for ſuch land as lay within a mile of the water, and three pence for that which law further off.

A ſhip of Barnſtable arrived here with 80 heifers. Another

1636. other from Briſtol arrived a fortnight after, with ſome cattle, and paſſengers at Piſ-cat: for Sir Ferdinand Gorges his plantation at Aquawaticus.

Canonicus ſent us word of ſom. : Engliſh whom the Pequods had killed at Say-Brook, and Mr. Williams wrote that the Pequods and Naraganſetts were at war, and that Miantonomoh told him that the Pequods had laboured to perſuade them that the Engliſh were minded to deſtroy all the Indians. Whereupon we ſent for Miantonomoh to come to us.

Another windmill was erected at Boſton, and one at Charleſtown, and a watermill at Salem, another at Ipswich, and another at Newbury.

After Mr. Endicott and our men were departed from the Pequod, the 20 men of Say-brook lay wind-bound there, and went to fetch ſome of the Indians corn, and having fetched every man one ſack full to their boat they returned for more, and having loaded themſelves, the Indians ſet upon them, ſo they laid down their corn and gave fire upon them, and the Indians ſhot arrows at them. The place was open for the diſtance of muſket ſhot, and the Indians kept the covert, ſave when they ran forth about ten at a time, and diſcharged their arrows. The Engliſh put themſelves into a ſingle file, and ſome ten only (who had pieces that could reach them) ſhot, and the others ſtood ready to keep them from breaking in upon our men. So they continued the moſt part of the afternoon. Our men killed ſome of them (as they ſuppoſed) and hurt others; and they ſhot only one of ours, and he was armed, all the reſt being without arms. He was ſhot thro' the legs. Their arrows were all ſhot compaſs, ſo as our men ſtanding ſingle, could eaſily ſee and avoid them, and one was employed to gather up their arrows; at laſt they emptied their ſacks, and retired ſafe to their boat.

About two days after five men of Say-brook, went up the river about four miles to fetch hay in a meadow on Pequot ſide; the graſs was ſo high as ſome Pequots being hid in it, ſet upon our men, and one that had hay on his back they took, the others fled to their boat, one of them having five arrows in him (but yet recovered). He who was taken was a godly young man, called Butterfield (whereupon the meadow was named Butterfield meadow)—About fourteen days after, ſix of Say-brook being ſent to keep the houſe in their cornfield about two miles from the fort, three of them went forth on fowling

(which

(which the Lieut. had ſtrictly forbidden them) two had pieces, and the third only a ſword. Suddenly about 100 Indians roſe out of the covert and ſhot upon them, the man who had the ſword broke thro' them, and received only two ſhot, not dangerous, and eſcaped to the houſe, which was not a bow ſhot off, and perſuaded the other two to follow him, but they ſtood ſtill 'till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces: ſoon after they burnt down the ſaid houſe and ſome outhouſes and hayſtacks within a bow ſhot of the fort, and killed a cow and ſhot divers others, but they all came home with the arrows in them. 1636.

Miantonomoh the ſachem of Naraganſett, being ſent for by the Governor, came to Boſton with two of Canonicus' ſons and another ſachem and near 20 ſanops. Cutſhamakin gave us notice the day before. The Governor ſent 20 muſketteers to meet him at Roxbury; he came to Boſton about noon. The Governor had called together moſt of the magiſtrates and miniſters, to give countenance to our proceedings, and to adviſe with them about the terms of peace. It was dinner time and the ſachems and their council dined by themſelves in the ſame room where the Governor dined, and their ſanops were ſent to the inn. After dinner, Miantonomoh declared what he had to ſay to us in propoſitions which were to this effect. That they had always loved the Engliſh and deſired firm peace with us—That they would continue in war with the Pequods and their confederates 'till they were ſubdued, and deſired we ſhould ſo do—They would deliver our enemies to us, or kill them—That if any of theirs ſhould kill our cattle, that we would not kill them, but cauſe them to make ſatisfaction—That they would now make a firm peace, and two months hence they would ſend us a preſent. The Governor told them they ſhould have anſwer the next morning. 8ber. 21

In the morning we met again, and concluded the peace upon the articles underwritten, which the Governor ſubſcribed, and they alſo ſubſcribed with their marks, and Cutſhamakin alſo. But becauſe we could not well make them underſtand the articles perfectly, we agreed to ſend a copy of them to Mr. Williams who could beſt interpret them to them. So after dinner they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by ſome muſketeers and diſmiſſed with a volley of ſhot.

THE

1636.

The ARTICLES.

1. A firm peace between us and our friends of other plantations (if they conſent) and their confederates (if they will obſerve the articles) and our poſterity.

2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the others conſent.

3. Not to harbour &c. the Pequods.

4. To put to death or deliver over murderers.

5. To return our fugitive ſervants.

6. We to give them notice when we go againſt the Pequods, and they to ſend us ſome guides.

7. Free trade between us.

8. None of them to come near our plantations during the wars with the Pequods, without ſome Engliſhman or known Indian.

9. To continue to the poſterity of both parties.

The Governor of Plimouth wrote to the Deputy that we had occaſioned a war by provoking the Pequods, and no more, and about the peace with the Naraganſetts. The Deputy took it ill (as there was reaſon) and returned anſwer accordingly, and made it appear, 1. That there was as much done as could be expected, conſidering they fled from us, and we could not follow them in our armour, neither had any to guide us in their country. 2. We went not to make war upon them, but to do juſtice &c. and having killed 13 of them for 4 or 5 which they had murdered of us, and deſtroyed 60 wigwams &c. we were not much behind with them. 3. They had no cauſe to glory over us when they ſaw that they could not ſave their houſes and corn from ſo few of ours. 4. If we had left but 100 of them living, thoſe might have done us as much hurt as they have or are likely to do. 5. It was very likely they would have taken notice of our advantage againſt them, and would have ſitten ſtill, or have ſought peace, if God had not deprived them of common reaſon.

About the middle of this month Jo: Tilley maſter of a bark, coming down Connecticut river, went on ſhore in a canoe three miles above the fort to kill fowl, and having ſhot off his piece many Indians aroſe out of the covert and took him, and killed one other who was in the canoe. This Tilley was a very ſtout man, and of great underſtanding. They cut off his hands and ſent them before, and after, cut off his feet. He lived three days after his hands were cut off, and themſelves confeſſed that

he was a ſtout man becauſe he cried not in all his torture. 1636.

About this time two houſes were burnt and all the goods in them to a great value; one was one Sharve's at Watertown, and the other one Jackſon's at Salem, both profeſſors, and Sharve the day before, admitted of the former church. This was very obſervable in Sharve, that he concealed his eſtate, and made ſhew as if he had been poor, and went not clear of ſome unrighteous paſſages.

One Mrs. Hutchinſon a member of the church of Boſton, a woman of a ready wit, and bold ſpirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors. 1. That the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt dwells in a juſtified perſon. 2. That no ſanctification can help to evidence to us our juſtification. From theſe two grew many branches: as 1. Our union with the Holy Ghoſt, ſo as a chriſtian remains dead to every ſpiritual action and hath no gifts nor graces other than ſuch as are in hypocrites, nor any other ſanctification but the Holy Ghoſt himſelf.

There joined with her in theſe opinions a brother of her, one Mr. Wheelwright, a ſilenced miniſter ſometime in England.

The other miniſters in the Bay hearing of theſe things came to Boſton at the time of the General Court, and entered conference in private with them, to the end they might know the certainty of theſe things, that if need were, they might write to the church of Boſton about them, to prevent if it were poſſible, the danger which ſeemed hereby to hang over that and the reſt of the churches. At this conference Mr. Cotton was preſent and gave ſatisfaction to them, ſo as he agreed with them all in the points of ſanctification, and ſo did Mr. Wheelwright; ſo as they all did hold that ſanctification did help to evidence juſtification. The ſame he had declared plainly in public divers times, but for the indwelling of the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt he held that ſtill, but not very man with the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt ſo as to amount to a perſonal union.

Mr. Cotton being requeſted by the general court with ſome other miniſters, to aſſiſt ſome of the magiſtrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did, this court, preſent a model of Moſes his judicials compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further conſideration 'till the next general court.

Some of the church of Boſton being of the opinion of Mrs.

1636. Mrs. Hutchinſon, had laboured to have Mr. Wheelwright be called to be a teacher there. It was propounded the laſt Lord's day, and was moved again this day for reſolution. One of the church ſtood up and ſaid he could not conſent &c. his reaſon was, becauſe the church being well furniſhed already with able miniſters whoſe ſpirits they knew, and whoſe labours God hath bleſſed in much love and ſweet peace, he thought it not fit (no neceſſity urging) to put the welfare of the church to the leaſt hazard, as he feared they ſhould do, by calling in one whoſe ſpirit they knew not, and one who ſeemed to diſſent in judgment, and inſtanced in two points which he delivered in a late exerciſe there. 1. That a believer was more than a creature. 2. That the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt and a believer were united. Hereupon the Governor ſpake, That he marvelled at this, ſeeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine. To this Mr. Cotton anſwered, that he did not remember the firſt, and deſired Mr. Wheelwright to explain his meaning. He denied not the points, but ſhewed upon what occaſion he delivered them. Whereupon there being an indication to make a reconciliation, the firſt replied, that altho' Mr. Wheelwright and himſelf might likely agree about the points, and tho' he thought reverendly of his godlineſs and abilities ſo as he could be content to live under ſuch a miniſtry, yet ſeeing he was apt to raiſe doubtful diſputations he could not conſent to chooſe him to that place; whereupon the church gave way that he might be called to a new church to be gathered at Mount Woollaſton, near Braintree. Divers of the brethren took offence at the ſaid ſpeech againſt Mr. Wheelwright: whereupon the ſame brother ſpake in the congregation the next day to this effect— That hearing that ſome of the brethren were offended at his former ſpeech, and for that offences were dangerous, he was deſirous to give ſatisfaction. The offence he ſaid was in three things. 1. For that he had charged the brother in public, and for a thing ſo long ſince delivered, and had not firſt dealt with him privately. For this he acknowledged it was a failing. But the occaſion was, that when he heard the points delivered, he took them in a good ſenſe, as ſpoken figuratively, ſeeing the whole ſcope of his doctrine was ſound, and ſavouring of the ſpirit of God; but hearing very lately that he was ſuſpected to hold ſuch opinions, it cauſed him to think he ſpake as he meant. The 2d. cauſe of offence was, that in his

ſpeech

ſpeech appeared ſome bitterneſs; For that he anſwered, 1636.
that they well knew his manner of ſpeech, as always earneſt in things which he conceived to be ſerious, and profeſſed that he did love that brother's perſon, and did know the gifts and graces of God in him. The 3d. was, that he had charged him to have held things which he did not. For this he anſwered, That he had ſpoken ſince with the ſaid brother, and for the two points, that the believer ſhould be more than a creature, and that there ſhould be a perſonal union between the Holy Ghoſt and a believer, he had denied to hold either of them, but by neceſſary conſequences he doth hold them both; for he holds (ſaid he) that there is a real union with the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, and then of neceſſity it muſt be perſonal, and ſo a believer muſt be more than a creature, viz. God man, even Chriſt Jeſus; for tho' in a true union the two terms may ſtill remain the ſame, as between huſband and wife, he is a man ſtill, and ſhe a woman, for the union is only in ſympathy and relation, yet in a real or perſonal union it is not. Now whether this were agreeable to the doctrine of the church or not, he left to the church to judge; hoping that the Lord would direct our teacher to clear theſe points fully, as he had well done in good meaſure already. Withal he made this requeſt to the teacher (which he ſaid he here did ſeriouſly and affectionately) that ſeeing theſe uneaſineſſes grew (and ſome eſtrangement withal) from ſome words and phraſes which were of known intention, and tended to doubtful diſputation rather than to edification, and had no footing in ſcripture, nor had been in uſe in the pureſt churches for 300 years after Chriſt, that for the peace of this church, they might be forborn (he meant perſon of the Holy Ghoſt and real union) and concluded that he did not intend to diſpute the matter, as not having place or calling thereunto then; yet if any brother deſired to ſee what light he walked by, he would be ready to impart it to him. How this was taken by the congregation did not appear, for no man ſpake to it. A day or two after, the ſame brother wrote his mind fully with ſuch ſcriptures and arguments as came to hand, and ſent it to Mr. Cotton.

A new church was gathered at Sagus (now Linne). 9ber. 8
The Governor and Deputy were not there, being letted by the coming in of a ſhip and other occaſions. It held the company two days—Mr. Whiting who was to be the

1636. paſtor being very unſkilful in church matters, and thoſe who were to be members, not fit for ſuch a work: at laſt ſix were accepted with Mr. Whiting, but with much ado.

A commiſſion was ſent out of the Chancery in England to ſome private men here to examine witneſſes in a cauſe depending here, but nothing was done in it, nor any return made.

17 Two ſhips arrived here from London, and one a week before. They were full of paſſengers, men women and children. One of them had been from London 26 weeks, and between land and land 16 weeks, the other two ſomething leſs time, their beer all ſpent and leaked out a month before their arrival, ſo as they were forced to ſtinking water (and that very ltttle) mixt with ſacke or vinegar, and their other proviſions very ſhort and bad, yet thro' the great providence of the Lord they came all ſafe on ſhore, and moſt of them ſound, and well liking. They had continual tempeſts, and when they were near the ſhore (being brought two or three days with a ſtronger eaſt wind) the weather was ſo thick all that time that they could not make land, and the ſeamen were in great perplexity when on a ſudden the fog cleared, ſo as they ſaw Cape Anne fair on their ſtarboard bow, and preſently grew thick again, yet by their compaſs they made their harbour. There were aboard that ſhip two godly miniſters, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers and Mr. Partridge, and many good people in that and the other ſhips, and we had prayed earneſtly for them, for a ſmall pinnace of 30 tons which came out with them, and was come in three weeks before, brought us news of their coming. In one of the other ſhips the paſſengers had but ½ pint of drink for a day fourteen days together, yet thro' the Lord's mercy did all well. One of the ſhips was overſet in the night by a ſudden guſt, and lay ſo half an hour, yet righted of herſelf.

Cattle were grown to high rates, a good cow £.25 or £.30—a pair of bulls or oxen £.40—Corn was near at 5ſ. the buſhel, and much rie was ſown with the plow this year, for about 30 plows were at work. Board was at 9 and 10ſ the C.—carpenters at 3ſ the day and other work accordingly.

Things went not well at Connecticut, their cattle did many of them caſt their young, as they had done the year before.

Mons'r.

Mons'r. D'Aulney Captain of Penobſcott or Pentagonett returned anſwer to the Governor's letter, wherein he profeſſed that they claimed no further than to Pemaquid, nor would, unleſs he had further order; and that he ſuppoſed that the cauſe why he had no order &c. was, that the Engliſh embaſſador had dealt effectually with the Cardinal of France for ſettling the limits for our peace. 1636.

The Governor Mr. Vane, a wiſe and godly gentleman held with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt in a believer, and went ſo far beyond the reſt, as to maintain a perſonal union with the Holy Ghoſt, but the Deputy with the paſtor and divers others, denied both, and the queſtion proceeded ſo far by diſputation in writing, for the peace ſake of the church, which all were tender of, as at length they could not find the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt in ſcripture, nor in the primitive churches 300 years after Chriſt, ſo that all agreeing in the chief matter of ſubſtance, viz. That the Holy Ghoſt is God, and that he doth dwell in the believers, as the father and ſon both are ſaid alſo to do, but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of preſence, ſeeing the ſcripture doth not declare it, it was earneſtly deſired that the word perſon might be forborn, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful diſputation in this caſe.

The Governor receiving letters from his friends in England which neceſſarily required his preſence there, imparted the ſame to the Council and ſome others, and being thereupon reſolved of his return into England, called a court of deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country &c. They being aſſembled in court, and himſelf declaring the neceſſiry of his departure, and thoſe of the council affirming the reaſons to be very urgent, tho' not fit to be imparted to the whole court, they deſired reſpite to conſider thereof 'till the morning, when one of the aſſiſtants uſing ſome pathetical paſſages of the loſs of ſuch a Governor in a time of ſuch danger as did hang over us, from the Indians and French, the Governor brake forth into tears, and profeſſed that howſoever the cauſes propounded for his departure were ſuch as did concern the utter ruin of his outward eſtate, yet he would rather have hazarded all, than have gone from them at this time, if ſomething elſe had not preſſed him more, viz. the inevitable danger he ſaw of God's judgments to come upon us for thoſe differences and diſſenſions which he ſaw 1ober.

1636. 10ber. saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all; and therefore he thought it best for him to give place for a time &c. Upon this the court concluded that it would not be fit to give way to his departure upon those grounds. Whereupon he recalled himself, and professed that the reasons concerning his own estate were sufficient to his own satisfaction for his departure, and therefore desired the court he might have leave to go. As for the other passage, it slipped him out of his passion, and not out of judgment. Upon this the court consented silently to his departure. Then the question was about supply of his place. Some were of opinion that it should be executed by the deputy, but this scruple being cast in, that if the deputy should die, then the government would be vacant, and none have power to call any court, or preside therein &c. it was agreed to call a court of election for a new Governor and Deputy, in the case the present Deputy should be chosen Governor, and an order was made (in regard of the season) that such as would, might send their votes by proxy, in papers sealed up and delivered to the deputies, and so this court was adjourned four days, and two days after the court of election was to assemble. These things thus passed, divers of the congregation of Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the Governor's departure upon the reasons alledged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the court, whereupon the Governor expressed himself to be an obedient child to the church, and therefore notwithstanding the licence of the court, yet without the leave of the church he durst not go away. Whereupon a great part of the court and country who understood thereof, declared their purpose to continue him still in his place, and therefore so soon as the day of election came, and the country were assembled, it was thought the best way for avoiding trouble &c. not to proceed to election, but to adjourn the court to the great general court in May, and so the court of deputies continued still, for the other court was not called.

At this court the elders of the churches were called to advise with them about dis-continuing and pacifying the differences among the churches in points of opinion. The Governor having declared the occasion to them, Mr. Dudley desired that men would be free and open &c. Another of the magistrates spake, that it would much further

the

the end they came for, if men would freely declare what they held different from others, as himſelf would freely do, in what point ſoever he ſhould be oppoſed. The Governor ſaid that he would be content to do the like, but that he underſtood the miniſters were about it in a church way, which he ſpake upon this occaſion the miniſters had met a little before, and had drawn into heads all the points wherein they ſuſpected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and preſſed him to a direct anſwer aff: or neg: to every one, which he had promiſed and taken time for. This meeting being ſpoken of in the court the day before, the Governor took great offence at it, as being without his privity, which this day Mr. Peters told him as protimely of, with all due reverence, and how it had ſaddened the miniſters ſpirits that he ſhould be jealous of their meetings, or ſeem to reſtrain their liberty. The Governor excuſed his ſpeech as ſudden and upon a miſtake. Mr. Peters told him alſo, that within leſs than two years ſince the churches were in peace. The Govornor anſwered, that the liberty of the goſpel brings a ſword, and the children of the bondwomen would perſecute thoſe of the free woman. Mr. Peters alſo beſought him humbly to conſider his haſty and ſhort experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory concluſions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto. He declared further, that he had obſerved both in the low countries and here, three principal cauſes of new opinions and diviſions thereupon. 1. Pride—new notions lift up the mind &c. 2. Idleneſs. 3. 1636.

Mr. Wilſon made a very ſad ſpeech of the condition of our churches, and the invoidable danger of ſeparation if thoſe differences and alienations among brethren were not ſpeedily remedied, and laid the blame upon thoſe new opinions riſen up amongſt us, which all the magiſtrates except the Governor and two others did confirm, and all the miniſters but two. In this diſcourſe two queſtions aroſe about ſanctification. Mr. Cotton in his ſermon that day had laid down this ground, that evident ſanctification was an evidence of juſtification, and hereupon had taught that in caſes of ſpecial deſertion, true deſires of ſanctification was found to be ſanctification, and further, if a man were laid ſo flat upon the ground as he could ſee no deſires, but only as a bruiſed reed did wait at the feet of Chriſt, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true The queſtion here grew whether any of theſe

1636. 10ber. theſe, or evident ſanctification could be evidence to a man without a concurrent ſight of his juſtification. The Governor and Mr. Cottton denied it.

The ſpeech of Mr. Wilſon was taken very ill by Mr. Cotton and others of the ſame church, ſo as he and divers of them went to admoniſh him. But Mr. Wilſon and ſome others, could ſee no breach of rule ſeeing he was called by the court about the ſame matter with the reſt of the elders, and expected to deliver their minds freely and faithfully both for diſcovering the danger and the means to help; and the things he ſpake of were only in general and ſuch as were under a common form: And being queſtioned about his intent, he profeſſed he did not mean Boſton church nor the members thereof, more than others. But this would not ſatisfy, but they called him to anſwer publickly; and then the Governor preſſed it violently againſt him, and all the congregation except the deputy and one or two more, many of them with much bitterneſs and reproaches; but he anſwered them all with words of truth and ſoberneſs, and with marvellous wiſdom. It was ſtrange to ſee how the common people were led by example to condemn him in that which it was very probable divers of them did not underſtand, nor the rule which he was ſuppoſed to have broken, and that ſuch as had known him ſo long, and what good he had done for that church, ſhould fall upon him with ſuch bitterneſs for juſtifying himſelf in a good cauſe: For he was a very holy upright man, and for faith and love inferior to none in the country, and moſt dear to all men. The teacher joined with the church in their judgment of him, not without ſome appearance of prejudice, yet with much wiſdom and moderation. They were eager to proceed to preſent cenſure, but the teacher ſtaid them from that, telling them he might not do it becauſe ſome oppoſed it, but gave him a grave exhortation.

One Mr. Glover of Dorcheſter having laid 60lb. of gunpowder in bags to dry in the end of his chimney, it took fire, and ſome of it went up the chimney, other of it filled the room and paſſed out at a door into another room and blew up a gable end. A maid which was in the room, having her arms and neck naked, was ſcorched, and died ſoon after: a little child in the arms of another was ſcorched upon the face, but not killed; two men were ſcorched, but not much. Divers pieces which lay charged in ſeveral places, took fire and went off, but did no harm.

harm. The room was ſo dark with ſmoke as thoſe in the houſe could neither find door nor window, and when neighbours came in none could ſee each other a good time for ſmoak. The houſe was thatched, yet took not fire, yet when the ſmoak was gone, many things were found burnt. Another great providence was, three little children being at the fire a little before, they went out to play, tho' it were a very cold day, and ſo were preſerved.. 1636.

The next day Mr. Wilſon preached, notwithſtanding, and the Lord ſo aſſiſted him as gave great ſatisfaction, and the Governor himſelf gave public witneſs to him.—One of the brethren wrote to Mr. Cotton about it, and laid before him divers failings, (as he ſuppoſed) and ſome reaſons to juſtify Mr. Wilſon, and dealt very plainly with him. Mr. Cotton made a very long and gentle anſwer, clearing his intentions, and perſiſting in his judgment of Mr. Wilſon's offence, laying down divers arguments for it. The ſaid brother replied to him in like loving manner, and defired leave to ſhew his letter to Mr. Wilſon, which he readily aſſented unto, but for anſwer to his arguments he forbore to reply to Mr. Cotton, becauſe he was overburdened with buſineſs, but wrote to the two ruling elders, whom the matter moſt concerned, and by way of defence of Mr. Wilſon, anſwered all Mr. Cottons arguments.

Upon theſe public occaſions, other opinions brake out publicly in the church of Boſton—as that the Holy Ghoſt dwelt in a believer as he is in heaven: that a man is juſtified before he believes, and that faith is no cauſe of juſtification. Others ſpread more ſecretly; as that the letter of the ſcripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works, and that the covenant of grace was the ſpirit of the ſcripture, which was known only to believers, and that this covenant of works was given by Moſes in the tenth commandment. That there was a ſeed (viz. Abraham's carnal ſeed) went along in this, and there was a ſpirit and life in it, by virtue whereof, a man might attain to any ſanctification in gifts and graces, and might have ſpecial and communion with Jeſus Chriſt, and yet be damned. After it was granted that faith was before juſtification, but it was only paſſive, an empty veſſel &c; but in concluſion, the ground of all was found to be aſſurance by immediate revelation. All the congregation of Boſton, except four or five, cloſed with theſe opinions 11 Mo.

or

1636. or the moſt of them. But one of the brethren wrote againſt them, and bore witneſs to the truth, together with the paſtor, and very few others joined with them.

About this time the reſt of the miniſters, taking offence at ſome doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and eſpecially at ſome opinions which ſome of his church did broach, and for that he ſeemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with thoſe perſons, drew out ſixteen points, and gave them to him, intreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies thereof were diſperſed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in ſome things he gave not ſatisfaction. The reſt of the miniſters replied to theſe anſwers, and at large ſhewed their diſſent, and the grounds thereof; and at the next general court held the 9th of the 1ſt. they all aſſembled at Boſton, and agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to an iſſue.

12 Mo. 22 The Lieut. at Say-brook, at the mouth of Connecticut river, going out with nine men, armed with ſwords and pieces, they ſtarted three Indians whom they purſued 'till they were brought into an ambuſh of 50, who came upon them and ſlew four of their men, and had they not drawn their ſwords and retired they had been all ſlain. The Indians were ſo hardy as they came cloſe up to them notwithſtanding their pieces.

Capt. Turner's houſe in Sagus took fire by an oven about midnight, and was burnt down with all that was in it, ſave the perſons. About 14 days ſince a ſhip called the George of Briſtol, laden with cattle and paſſengers, having been ſome time at the Weſtern Iſlands, and having ſpent her main maſt about Cape Cod, and after, came near Brewſter's Iſland, was by N.W. wind forced to put into Plimouth.

1 Mo. 20 A general faſt was kept in all the churches. The occaſion was the miſerable eſtate of the churches in Germany; the calamities upon our native country; the biſhops making havock in the churches, and putting down the faithful miniſters. and advancing popiſh ceremonies and doctrines: the plague raging exceedingly, and famine and ſword threatning them; the dangers of thoſe at Connecticut, and of ourſeles alſo by the Indians, and the diſſentions in our churches.

The differences in the ſaid points of religion increaſed more and more, and the miniſters of both ſides (there being

being only Mr. Cotton of one part) did publickly declare their judgment in ſome of them, ſo as all men's mouths were full of them; and there being a ſhip ready to go for England, and many paſſengers in it, Mr. Cotton took occaſion to ſpeak to them about the differences &c. and willed them to tell our countrymen, that all the ſtrife amongſt us was about magnifying the grace of God; one part ſeeking to advance the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us (meaning by the one juſtification, and by the other ſanctification) and ſo bade them tell them, that if there were any among them that would ſtrive for grace, they ſhould come hither, and ſo declared ſome particulars. Mr. Wilſon ſpake after him, and declared that he knew none of the elders or brethren of the churches, but did labour to advance the free grace of God in juſtification, ſo far as the word of God required, and ſpake alſo about the doctrine of ſanctification, and the uſe and neceſſity of it; by occaſion whereof, no man could tell (except ſome few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was: which ſpeech, tho' it offended thoſe of Mr. Cotton's part, yet it was very ſeaſonable to clear the reſt, who otherwiſe ſhould have been reputed to have oppoſed free grace. Thus every occaſion increaſed the contention, and cauſed great alienation of minds; and the members of Boſton (frequenting the lectures of other miniſters) did make much diſturbance by public queſtions, and objections to their doctrines which did any way diſagree from their opinions. And it began to be as common here to diſtinguiſh between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between proteſtants and papiſts. 1636.

A man of Weymouth (but not of the church) fell into ſome trouble of mind, and in the night cried out, "Art thou come Lord Jeſus," and with that leaped out of his bed in his ſhirt, and breaking from his wife, leaped out at a high window into the ſnow, and ran about ſeven miles off, and being tracked in the ſnow, was found dead next morning. They might perceive that he had kneeled down to prayer in divers places. Feb. 6

The General Court began. When any matter about the new opinions was mentioned, the court was divided; yet the greater number far were ſound. They queſtioned the proceeding againſt Mr. Wilſon, for his ſpeech in the laſt court, but could not faſten upon ſuch as had 1. 9.

1636. prejudiced him, but by the vote of the greater part, his ſpeech was approved, and declared to have been a ſeaſonable advice, and no charge or accuſation. The miniſters being called to give advice about the authority of the court in things concerning the churches &c. did all agree of theſe two things. 1. That no member of the court ought to be publicly queſtioned by a church for any ſpeech in the court, without the licence of the court. The reaſon was, becauſe the court may have ſufficient reaſon that may excuſe the ſin, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a ſecret of ſtate. The ſecond thing was, That in all ſuch hereſies or errors of any church member as are manifeſt and dangerous to the ſtate, the court may proceed without tarrying for the church, but if the opinions be doubtful &c. they are firſt to refer them to the church.

At this court when Mr. Wheelwright was to be queſtioned for a ſermon which ſeemed to tend to ſedition &c. near all the church of Boſton preſented a petition to the court for two things. 1. That as freemen they might be preſent in caſes of judicature. 2. That the court would declare if they might deal in caſes of conſcience, before the church. This was taken as a groundleſs and preſumptuous act, eſpecially at this ſeaſon, and was rejected with this anſwer—That the court had never uſed to proceed, but it was openly:—but for matter of conſultation and preparation in cauſes, they might and would be private.

One Stephen Green for ſaying that all the miniſters except A. B. C. did teach a covenant of works, was cenſured to acknowledge his fault in every church, and fined £40.

Mr. Wheelwright one of the members of Boſton, preaching at the laſt faſt, enveighed againſt all that walked in a covenant of works, as he deſcribed it, viz. ſuch as maintain ſanctification as an evidence of juſtification &c. and called them antichriſtians, and ſtirred the people againſt them with much bitterneſs and vehemence. For this he was called before the court, and his ſermon being produced, he juſtified it, and confeſſed he did mean all that walk in ſuch a way. Whereupon the elders of the reſt of the churches were called, and aſked whether they in their miniſtry did walk in ſuch a way. They all acknowledged they did, ſo after much debate, the court adjudged him guilty of ſedition, and alſo of contempt, for that the court had appointed the faſt as a means of reconciliation

ciliation of the differences &c. and he purpoſely ſet him- 1636.
ſelf to kindle and increaſe them. The Governor and ſome, few more who diſſented, tendred a proteſtation, which becauſe it wholly juſtified Mr. Wilſon, and condemned the proceedings of the court, was rejected. The church of Boſton alſo tendred a petition in his behalf, juſtifying Mr. Wheelwright's ſermon. The court deferred ſentence 'till the next court, and adviſed with the miniſters whether they might injoin his ſentence. They anſwered that they were not clear in that point, but deſired rather that he might be commended to the church of Boſton to take care of him, which accordingly was done, and he injoined to appear at the next court. Much heat of contention was this court between the oppoſite parties, ſo as it was moved that the next court might be kept at Newtown. The Governor refuſed to put it to the vote; the Deputy was loth to do it except the court would require him, becauſe he dwelt in Boſton, ſo the court put it to Mr. Endicott.

Miantonomoh &c. ſent 26, with 40 fathom of wam- 21
pom and a Pequod's hand. We gave four of the chief ſachems a coat of 19ſ price, and deferred to return our preſent 'till after, according to their manner.

Thoſe of Connecticut returned anſwer to our public 1637.
letters, wherein they ſhewed themſelves unſatisfied about Mo. 2
our former expedition againſt the Pequods, and their expectation of a further proſecution of the war, to which they offer to ſend men, and ſignify their unprepardneſs to declare themſelves in the matter of government, in regard of their engagement to attend the anſwer of the gentlemen of Say-brook about the ſame matter.

Capt. Underhill was ſent to Say-brook with 20 men to 10
keep the fort, both in reſpect of the Indians, and eſpecially of the Dutch, who by their ſpeeches and ſupplies out of Holland, gave occaſion of ſuſpicion that they had ſome deſign upon it. The men were ſent at the charge of the gentlemen of Say-brook, and lent by order of the council here, for fear any advantage ſhould be taken by the adverſe party, thro' the weakneſs of the place.

The church of Concord kept a day of humiliation at 6
Newtown, for ordination of their elders, and they choſe Mr. Bulkley teacher and Mr. Jones paſtor. Upon a queſtion moved by one ſent from the church of Salem, it was reſolved by the miniſters there preſent, that ſuch as had been miniſters in England, were lawful miniſters by

1637. by the call of the people there, notwithſtanding their acceptance of the call of the biſhops &c. (for which they humbled themſelves, acknowledging it their ſin) but being come hither, they accounted themſelves no miniſters, until they were called by another church, and that upon election they were miniſters before they were ſolemnly ordained.

The Governor and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wheelwright and the two ruling elders of Boſton, and the reſt of that church which were of any note, did none of them come to this meeting, The reaſon was conceived to be, becauſe they accounted theſe as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination.

28 Being about full moon, about 10 of the clock in the evening in a clear ſky, a perfect moon was ſeen about a ſlight ſhot Northerly from the true moon. It was ſeen ſo about half an hour, and then vaniſhed with dim flaſhings; it was more dim than the true moon.

3. 2. Mr. Haynes one of our magiſtrates, removed with his family to Connecticut. We received a letter from him and others being then at Say-brook, that the Pequods had been up the river at Wethersfield, and had killed ſix men, being at their work, and 20 cows and a mare, and had killed three women, and carried away two maids.

Mr. Winſlow was ſent from the Governor and Council of Plimouth to treat with us about joining againſt the Pequods. He ſignified firſt their willingneſs to aid us, but that they could not do any thing 'till their general court, which was not 'till the firſt tueſday in the 4th month. Then he made ſome objections, as 1. Our refuſal to aid them againſt the French. 2. Our people's trading at Kenebeck. 3. The injury offered them at Connecticut by thoſe of Windſor in taking away their land there. 4. Their own poverty and our ability which needed not any help from them. To this anſwer was made by our Governor and Deputy, That 1. we did not deſire them to afford aid unto us, but to join againſt the common enemy, who if he were not ſubdued, would prove as dangerous to them as to us, and he prevailing, would cauſe all the Indians in the country to join to root out all the Engliſh. 2. For our refuſal to aid them againſt the French, the caſe was not alike, for it was their private quarrel, and they were ſuppoſed to have commiſſion from the King of France, and we thought it no wiſdom for us to engage ourſelves in a war with the King of France.

France. For our people's trading at Kenebeck we anſwered, That we gave no allowance to it, nor had we heard of more than a boat or two that had been there. For the injury done them at Connecticut, we had dealt with them to give ſatisfaction, but it was not in our power to do them juſtice in it. They alledg'd alſo that this war did not concern them, ſeeing the Pequods had not killed any of theirs. We anſwered, that Capt. Stone &c. for which this war was begun, were none of ours neither. They alledged further, that in our firſt undertaking, they were not acquainted with it 'till two or three days before our forces were to go forth. We anſwered, we intended at the firſt to ſend only to Block Iſland, and for that we thought it not needful to trouble them, and our ſending them thence to the Pequods, was with hope to draw them to parley, and ſo to ſome quiet end. We concluded to write further to them from our next court. And whereas they propounded to have us promiſe to aid them in all their occaſions &c. we anſwered, That ſeeing when we now treated with them about joining with us, they were at liberty and might withold, except they ſaw reaſon to move them, ſo we deſired to be left free, that we might judge of the reaſon of any ſuch occaſion as might fall out. According hereunto we wrote to them the 20th of the 3d month, and gave them ſome conſiderations why they ſhould join with us. As 1. Becauſe if we ſhould be overcome, it would coſt them more to help us, and be leſs acceptable. 2. If we ſhould prevail without them, it would occaſion ill thoughts in our people towards theirs &c. ſo we left it to them. 1637.

Our court of elections was at Newtown. So ſoon as the court was ſet, being about one of the clock, a petiton was preferred by thoſe of Boſton. The Governor would have read it, but the Deputy ſaid it was out of order, it was a court of elections, and thoſe muſt firſt be diſpatched, and then their petitions ſhould be heard. Divers others alſo oppoſed that courſe as an ill precedent, and the petition being about pretence of liberty &c. (tho' intended chiefly for revoking the ſentence given againſt Mr. Wheelwright) would have ſpent all the day in debate, but yet the Governor and thoſe of that party would not proceed to election, except the petition were read. Much time was already ſpent about this debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the Deputy that the people ſhould divide themſelves, and the greater number 17

1637. Mo. 3. ber muſt carry it, and ſo it was done, and the greater number by much were for election. But the Governor and that ſide kept their place ſtill, and would not proceed. Whereupon the Deputy told him, that if he would not go to election, he and the reſt of that ſide would proceed. Upon that he came from his company and they went to election, and Mr. Winthrop was choſen Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy, and Mr. Endicott of the ſtanding council, and Mr. Iſrael Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonſtall were called in to be aſſiſtants, and Mr. Vane. Mr. Coddington and Mr. Dummer (being all of the faction) were left quite out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for thoſe of that ſide grew into fierce ſpeeches, and ſome laid hands on others, but ſeeing themſelves too weak, they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, becauſe the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy, but it fell out that there were enough beſide. But if it had been otherwiſe, they muſt have put in their deputies as other towns had done, for all matters beſide elections. Boſton having deferred to chooſe deputies 'till the election was paſſed, went home that night, and the next morning they ſent Mr. Vane the late Governor and Mr. Coddington and Mr. Hoffe for their deputies, but the court being grieved at it, found a means to ſend them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boſton had not notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the ſame gentlemen again upon a new choice, and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted.

Upon the election of the new Governor, the ſerjeants which had attended the old Governor to the court (being all Boſton men, where the new Governor alſo dwelt) laid down their halberds and went home; and whereas they had been wont to attend the former Governor to and from the meetings on the Lord's days, they gave over now, ſo as the new Governor was fain to uſe his own ſervants to carry two halberds before him, whereas the former Governor had never leſs than four.

Divers writings were now publiſhed about theſe differences. Among the reſt the magiſtrates ſent forth an apology to juſtify the ſentence of the court againſt Mr. Wheelwright, which the adverſe party had much oppoſed and ſpoken evil of, and did alſo ſet forth a remonſtrance to that end, in which they did not deal fairly, for in abreviating Mr. Wheelwright his ſermon, they clear

clear altered both the words and the meaning of ſuch paſſages in it whereat the offence was taken, and which were the ground of the court's ſentence. Mr. Wheelwright alſo himſelf ſet forth a ſmall treatiſe about the principal doctrine of his ſermon, viz. about the Covenant of Grace, which was alſo differing from his ſermon. The other miniſters alſo ſet out an anſwer to his ſermon, confuting the ſame by many ſtrong arguments. Mr. Cotton alſo replied to their anſwer very largely, and ſtated the differences in a very narrow ſkantling; and Mr Shepherd preaching at the day of election, brought them yet nearer, ſo as, except men of good underſtanding, and ſuch as knew the bottom of the tenets of thoſe of the other party, few could ſee where the difference was, and indeed it ſeemed ſo ſmall as (if men's affections had not been formerly alienated when the differences were formerly ſtated as fundamental) they might eaſily have come to reconciliation. For in theſe particulars they agreed. 1. That juſtification and ſanctification were both together in time. 2. That a man muſt know himſelf to be juſtified, before he can know himſelf to be ſanctified. 3. That the ſpirit never witneſſeth juſtification without a wonder and a work. The difference was, whether the firſt aſſurance be by an abſolute promiſe always, and not by a conditional alſo, and whether a man could have any true aſſurance without ſight of ſome ſuch work in his ſoul, as no hypocrite could attain unto. 1637. Mo. 3.

At the court Mr. Wheelwright, according as he was injoined, did appear, but becauſe a general day of humiliation was appointed, and it was agreed that all the churhes ſhould chooſe certain men to meet and confer about the differences, the court gave him reſpite to the next ſeſſion, which was appointed the firſt tueſday in Auguſt, to bethink himſelf, that retracting and reforming his error, the court might ſhew him favor, which otherwiſe he muſt not expect. His anſwer was, that if he had committed ſedition, then he ought to be put to death, and if we did mean to proceed againſt him, he meant to appeal to the King's court for he could retract nothing. The court told him that they were clear in the juſtice of their proceedings, and ſhould judge of his offence as they had done, if it were to do again, but if upon the conference among the churches, the Lord ſhould diſcover any further light to them than as yet they had ſeen, they ſhould gladly embrace it.

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1637. Mo. 3. The intent of the court in deferring the ſentence was, that being thus provoked by their tumultuous courſe and divers inſolent ſpeeches which ſome of that party had uttered in the court, and having now power enough to have cruſhed them, their moderation, and deſire of reconciliation might appear to all.

Having received intelligence from Miantonomoh, that the Pequods had ſent their women and children to an Iſland for their ſafety, we preſently ſent away 40 men by land to the Naraganſetts, and there to take in Miantonomoh (and he offered to ſend 16 men with us) and ſo in the night to ſet upon them. We alſo provided to ſend 160 more after them to proſecute the war; and Mr. Stoughton one of the magiſtrates was ſent with them, and Mr. Wilſon the paſtor of Boſton. Theſe two were choſen thus in the open court. Three magiſtrates were ſet apart, and one was deſigned by a lot: alſo the elders ſet apart two, and a lot was caſt between them in a ſolemn public invocation of the name of God.

24 By letters from Mr. Williams we were certified (which the next day was confirmed by ſome who came from Say-brook) that Capt. Maſon was come to Say-brook with 80 Engliſh and 100 Indians, and that the Indians had gone out there and met with 7 Pequods—5 they killed, one they took alive, whom the Engliſh put to torture, and ſet all their heads upon the fort. The reaſon was becauſe they had tortured ſuch of our men as they took alive.

The Dutch Governor ſent a ſloop to Pequod to redeem the two Engliſh maids by what means ſoever, tho' it were with breach of their peace with Pequods.. The ſloop offer'd largely for their ranſom. but nothing would be accepted, ſo the Dutch having many Pequods aboard, ſtayed ſix of them (the reſt leaped overboard) and with them redeemed the two maids who had been well uſed by the Pequods, and no violence offered them.

The former Governor and Mr. Coddington, being diſcontented that the people had left them out of all public ſervice, gave further proof of it in the congregation, for they refuſed to ſet in the magiſtrates ſeat, where Mr. Vane had always ſitten from his firſt arrival, and went and ſet with the deacons, altho' the Governor ſent to deſire them to come in to him; and upon the day of the general faſt they went from Boſton to keep the day at the Mount with Mr. Wheelwright. Another occaſion of their diſcontent, and of the reſt of that party, was an order which

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the court had made to keep out all ſuch perſons as might be dangerous to the commonwealth, by impoſing a penalty upon all ſuch as ſhould retain any, &c. above three weeks which ſhould not be allowed by ſome of the magiſtrates; for it was very probable that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England from Mr. B his church. 1637. Mo. 3.

This order and other differences between the new Governor and them, was the cauſe that at his return to Boſton none of them met him; and the ſerjeants which had conſtantly attended the former Governor to all public meetings with four halberds, did now refuſe to do any ſuch office to the new, alledging that they had done it to the former voluntarily, in reſpect of his perſon, not his place. To which it was anſwered that there was a double error. 1. Becauſe the place drowns the perſon, be he honorable or baſe. 2. That any compliment of honor being once confered upon an office, tho' voluntarily, cannot after be taken away without contempt and injury. The country taking notice of this, offered to ſend in ſome from the neighbouring towns to carry the halberds by courſe, and upon that the town of Boſton offered to ſend ſome men, but not the ſerjeants, but the Governor choſe rather to make uſe of two of his own ſervants.

Our Engliſh from Connecticut, with their Indians, and many of the Naraganſetts, marched in the night to a fort of the Pequods at Miſtick, and beſetting the ſame about break of the day, after two hours fight they took it by firing it, and ſlew therein two chief ſachems and 150 fighting men, and about 150 old men, women and children, with the loſs of two Engliſh killed by the enemy. Divers of the Indian friends were hurt by the Pequods. The ſtory is more fully deſcribed in the next leaf.

Preſently upon this came news from the Naraganſett, that all the Engliſh and 200 of the Indians were cut off in their retreat, for want of powder and victuals. Three days after, this was confirmed by a poſt from Plimouth, with ſuch probable circumſtances, as it was generally believed. But three days after, Mr. Williams having gone to the Naraganſett to diſcover the truth, found them mourning, as being confident of it; but that night ſome came from the army, and aſſured them all was well, and that all the Pequods were fled and had forſaken their fort. The general defeat of the Pequods at Miſtick happened the day after the general faſt.

Two ſhips arrived here out of England, Mr. Pierce

1637. Mo. 4. 3 was one. In them came the copy of a commiſſion from the commiſſioners for N. England to divers of the magiſtrates here, to govern all the people in New-England 'till further orders, upon this pretence, that there, was no lawful authority in form here, either mediate or immediate from his Majeſty.

Upon the news from Mr. Williams that the Pequods were diſperſed, and ſome come in and ſubmitted to the Naraganſetts (who would not receive them 'till they had ſent to know our mind), the Governor and Council thought it needleſs to ſend ſo many men, and therefore ſent out word only for one half of the 200, but ſome of the people liked not of it, and came to the Governor to have all ſent. He took it ill, and tho' three of the miniſters came with them to debate the matter, he told them that if any one, diſcovering an error in the proceedings of the council, had come in a private manner to acquaint them therewith, it had been well done, but to come ſo many of them, in a public and popular way, was not well, and would bring authority into contempt. This they took well at his hands, and excuſed their intentions; ſo it was thought fit to ſend about 40 men more, which was yielded rather to ſatisfy the people, than for any need that appeared.

Upon our Governor's letter to Plimouth our friends there agreed to ſend a pinnace with 40 men to aſſiſt in the war againſt the Pequods, but they could not be ready to meet us at the firſt.

15 There was a day of thankſgiving kept in all the churches for the victory obtained againſt the Pequods and for other mercies. About this time came home a ſmall pinnace of 30 tons which had been forth eight months and was given for loſt. She went to the Bermuda, but by continual tempeſts was kept from hence, and forced to bear up for the Weſt-Indies, and being in great diſtreſs, arrived at Hiſpaniola, and not daring to go into any inhabited place there, but to go on ſhore in obſcure places, and lived of turtles and eggs &c. At laſt they were forced into a harbour where lay a French man of war with his prize, and had ſurely made prize of them alſo, but that the providence of God ſo diſpoſed, as the Captain, one Peterſore, had lived at Piſcat: and knew the merchant of our bark, one Mr. Gibbons—Whereupon he uſed them courteouſly, and for ſuch commodities as ſhe carried, furniſhed her with tallow and hides, and ſent home

home with her his prize, which he ſold for a ſmall price to be paid in N. England. He brought home an Aligarto which he gave the Governor. 1637.

Three ſhips arrived here from Ipſwich with 360 paſſengers. The laſt being loth to come to anchor at Caſtle Iſland, tho' hailed by the Caſtle boat, and required, the gunner made a ſhot, intending to ſhoot before her for a warning, but the powder in her touch hole being wet and the ſhip having freſh way with the wind and tide, the ſhot took place in the ſhrouds and killed a paſſenger an honeſt man. The next day the Governor charged an inqueſt, and ſent them aboard with two of the magiſtrates (one of them being deputed coroner) to take view of the dead body, who upon hearing all the evidences, found that he came to his death by the *providence of God.* 20

The Governor went to Sagus and to Salem and to Ipswich, at all which places the men of the towns met him and guarded him from town to town (tho' not deſired nor expected by him) to ſhew their reſpect to their Governor, and alſo for his ſafety, in regard it was reported the Pequods were come this way. He returned again the 28th, being forced to travel all the night by reaſon of the heat, which was ſo extreme, as divers of thoſe who were new come on ſhore died in their travel a few miles. 23

Here arrived two ſhips from London, the Hector, and the . In Theſe came Mr. Davenport and another miniſter, and Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins two merchants of London, men of fair eſtate and of great eſteem for religion, and wiſdom in outward affairs. 26

In the Hector came alſo the Lord Ley, ſon and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, being about nineteen years of age, who came only to ſee the country. He was of very ſober carriage, and ſhewed much wiſdom and moderation in his lowly and familiar carriage, eſpecially in the ſhip, where he was much diſreſpected and unworthily uſed by the maſter, one Fearne, and ſome of the paſſengers, yet he bore it meekly and ſilently. When he came on ſhore the Governor was from home, and he took up his lodging at the common inn. When the Governor returned he preſently came to his houſe; the Governor offered him lodging, but he refuſed, ſaying that he came not to be troubleſome to any, and the houſe where he was, was ſo well governed, that he could be as private there as elſewhere.

We had news of a commiſſion granted in England to divers

1637. divers gentlemen here for the governing of New-England &c. but inſtead thereof we received a commiſſion from Sir Ferdinand Gorges to govern his province of New Somerſetſhire, which is from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahoc, and withal, to overſee his ſervants and private officers; which was obſerved as a matter of no good diſcretion, but paſſed in ſilence—we excuſed our not intermedling &c. becauſe being directed to ſix or five of them, and one of their names being miſtaken, and another removed to Connecticut, there were but four in the country. As alſo for that it did not appear to us what authority he had to grant ſuch a commiſſion, As for the commiſſion from the King, we received only a copy of it, but the commiſſion itſelf ſtaid at the ſeal for want of paying the fees.

The party who procured the commiſſion, one George Chever, brought alſo a protection under the privy ſignet for ſearching out the great lake of Iracoye, and for the ſole trade of beaver, and the planting of Long Iſland, by agreement between the Earl of Sterling Viſcount Canada and him. Thus this and other gentlemen in England get large circuits of lands in the country, and are very ready to grant them out to ſuch as will become their tenants, and to encourage them, do procure commiſſions, protections &c. which coſt them nothing, but will be at no charge in any right way of plantation, which ſhould be by coming themſelves, or ſending ſome of their children &c. but now as they adventure little, ſo they are ſure to loſe nothing but their vain hope.

Capt. Stoughton and his company having purſued the Pequods beyond Connecticut, and miſſing of them, returned to Pequot river where they were advertiſed that 100 of them were newly come back to a place ſome 12 miles off, ſo they marched thither by night and ſurpriſed them all; they put to death 22 men, and reſerved two ſachems, hoping by them to get Saſacus, which they promiſed. All the reſt were women and children, of which they gave the Naraganſetts 30 and our Maſſachuſetts Indians three, and the reſt they ſent hither.

A pinnace returning took a canoe with four Indians near Block Iſland, we ſent them to Miantunomoh to know what they were, and after we diſcharged all ſave one who was a Pequod whom we gave Mr. Cotting to carry into England.

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The differences grew ſo much here as tended faſt to a ſeparation; ſo as Mr. Vane being among others, invited by the Governor to accompany the Lord Ley at a dinner, refuſed to come, alledging by letter, that his conſcience witheld him. 1637. Mo. 5.

There were ſent to Boſton 48 women and children, there were 80 taken as before is expreſſed. Theſe were diſpoſed of to particular perſons in the country; ſome of them ran away and were brought again by the Indians our neighbours, and thoſe men branded on the ſhoulder. 6

Ayanemoh the ſachem of Niantick came to Boſton with 17 men. He made divers propoſitions which we promiſed to give an anſwer unto the next day, and then unſterſtanding he had received many of the Pequods, ſubmitting to him ſince the former defeat, we firſt demanded the delivery of them, which he ſticking at, we refuſed further conference with him, but the next morning he came and offered what we deſired. So the Governor referred him to treat with our Captain at the Pequod, and wrote inſtructions to them how to deal with him, and received his preſent of ten fathom of wampom. He was lovingly diſmiſſed with ſome ſmall things given him. 12

There came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinſon; and ſome of Mr Wheelwrights friends whom the Governor thought not fit to allow, as others, to ſit down among us, without ſome trial of them. Therefore to ſave others from the danger of the law in receiving of them, he allowed them for four months. This was taken very ill by thoſe of the other party, and many hot ſpeeches given forth about it, and about their removal &c.

Mr. Stoughton with about 80 of the Engliſh, whereof Mr. Ludlow, Capt. Maſon, and of Connecticut were part, ſailed to the weſt in purſuit of Saſacus &c. at Quinepiack they killed ſix and took two. At a head of land a little ſhort they beheaded two ſachems; whereupon they called the place Sachems head. About this time they had given a Pequod his life to find out Saſacus. He went and found him not far off, but Safacus ſuſpecting him, intended to kill him, which the fellow perceiving, eſcaped in the night, and came to the Engliſh: Whereupon Saſacus and Mononotto the two chief ſachems, and ſome 20 more fled to the Mohawks; but 80 of the ſtouteſt men, and 200 others women and children were at a place within 20 or 30 miles of the Dutch whither our men marched; and being guided by a divine providence, came upon 13

1637. Mo. 6. them where they had 20 wigwams hard by a moſt hideous ſwamp, ſo thick with buſhes and ſo quagmiry as men could hardly croud into it. Into this ſwamp they were all gotten. Lieut. Davenport and two or three more that entered the ſwamp were dangerouſly wounded by the Indian arrows, and with much difficulty were fetched out. Then our men ſurrounded the ſwamp, being a mile about, and ſhot at the Indians, and they at them, from 3 of the clock in the afternoon 'till they deſired parley, and offered to yield, and life was offered to all that had not ſhed Engliſh blood. So they began to come forth, now ſome and then ſome, 'till about 200 women and children were come out, and amongſt them the ſachem of the place, and thus they kept us two hours 'till night was come on, and then the men told us they would fight it out, and ſo they did all the night, coming up behind the buſhes very near our men, and ſhot many arrows into their hats, ſleves and ſtockings, yet (which was a very miracle) not one of ours wounded. When it was near morning it grew very dark, ſo as ſuch of them as were left crept out at one place and eſcaped, being, as was judged, not above 20 at moſt, and thoſe like to be wounded, for in the purſuit they found ſome of them dead of their wounds. Here our men gat ſome booty of kettles, trays, wampom &c. and the women and children were divided, and ſent ſome to Connecticut and ſome to the Maſſachuſetts. The ſachem of the place having yielded, had his life and his wife and children. The women which were brought home reported that we had ſlain in all 13 ſachems, and that there were 13 more left. We had now ſlain and taken in all about 700. We ſent 15 of the boys and two women to Bermuda, by Mr. Pierce, but he miſſing it, carried them to Providence Iſle.

Mr. Stoughton ſailed with ſome of his company from Pequod to Block Iſland. They came thither in the night, yet were diſcovered, and our men having killed one or two of them and burnt ſome of their wigwams, they came to parley, and ſubmitting themſelve to become tributaries in 100 fath. wampompeague, and to deliver any that ſhould be found to have any hand in Mr. Oldhams death, they were all received, and no more harm done them.

At our general court one Greenſmith being cenſured for ſaying that all the elders except two did preach a covenant of

of works &c. he did appeal to the King, but the court, notwithſtanding, committed him 'till &c. 1637.

The Lord Ley being told that one Ewre had ſpoken treaſon againſt the King, ſent for the party one Brooks, and inquiring of him, he told him that Ewre had ſaid above twelve months before, that if the King did ſend any authority hither againſt our patent, he would be the firſt ſhould reſiſt him. This coming to the Governor's knowledge, he ſent for the parties, and bound them over to the general court. When they came there Brooks brought his wife to witneſs with him, but her teſtimony agreed not with his, alſo three others whom he had told it unto reported it otherwiſe, ſo at length they all agreed, and ſet it under their hands, That Ewre ſaid that if there came any authority out of England contrary to the patent, he would withſtand it. Now becauſe here was no mention of the King, and becauſe he never informed any of the magiſtrates of it, and for that it was evident that he bare malice of the ſaid Ewre, we ſaw no cauſe to take any other of the parties informing, (The rather becauſe themſelves did urge it, and ſhe refuſed long to ſpeak at all, except ſhe might be put to her oath) nor any offence which deſerved puniſhment, ſeeing it is lawful to reſiſt any authority which was to overthrow the lawful authority of the King's patent, and ſo the Governor did openly declare in the court, as juſtifiable by the laws of England. Mo. 6.

The Lord Ley and Mr. Vane went from Boſton to the ſhip riding at Long Iſland, to go for England. At their departure, thoſe of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together and did accompany him to the boat (and many to the ſhip) and the men being in arms, gave him divers vollies of ſhot, and five pieces of ordnance, and he had five more at the Caſtle. But the Governor was not come from the court, but had left order with the captain for their honorable diſmiſſion.

There was an old woman in Ipſwich who came out of England blind and deaf, yet her ſon could make her underſtand any thing and know any man's name by her ſenſe of feeling. He would write upon her hand ſome letters of the name, and by other ſuch motions would inform her; this the Governor himſelf had tried often when he was at Ipſwich.

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came with Mr. Wilſon from Connecticut by Providence and the ſame day Mr. Lud- 5

1637. Mo. 6. Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon & about twelve more came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the ſkin and lock of hair of Saſsacus; and his brother and five other Pequod Sachems who being fled to the Mohawks for ſhelter with their wampom, being to the value of £.500 were by them ſurpriſed and ſlain, with 20 of their beſt men. Mononottoh was alſo taken but eſcaped wounded. They brought news alſo of divers other Pequods which had been ſlain by other Indians, and their heads brought to the Engliſh, ſo that now there had been ſlain and taken between eight and nine hundred. Whereupon letters were ſent to Mr. Stoughton and the reſt, to call them all home.

A woman of Boſton congregation having been in much trouble of mind about her ſpiritual eſtate, at length grew into bitter deſperation and could not endure to hear of any comfort, ſo as one day ſhe took her little infant and threw it into a well, and then came into the houſe and ſaid now ſhe was ſure ſhe ſhould be damned for ſhe had drowned her child, but ſome ſtepping preſently forth, ſaved the child. See more after.

Mr. Hooker and the reſt of the elders meeting divers days, they agreed, with conſent of the magiſtrates, upon a day of humiliation to be kept in all the churches the 24th of this month, & the day for the conference to be the 30th day. At their private meetings ſome reconciliation was made between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Wilſon, he profeſſing that by his ſpeech in the court, he did not intend the doctrine of Mr Cotton or Mr. Wheelwright delivered in the public congregation, but ſome opinions (meaning three or four) which were privately carried in Boſton and other parts of the country, and accordingly Mr. Cottton declared ſo much in the congregation the Lord's day following. And for the reſt of his ſpeech, it was agreed by all the elders to be inoffenſive, conſidering his call thereunto by the court. This ſudden change was much obſerved by ſome who were privy that Mr. Wilſon had profeſſed as much before, both privately to the elders and publickly in the congregation, and that the ſaid opinions had been delivered to the elders of Boſton in writing as thoſe which Mr. Wilſon intended.

17 Mr. Davenport preached at Boſton, it being the lecture day, out of that in 1. Cor. *I exhort you brethren &c. that there be no diviſions among you*—wherein as he fully ſet forth

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the nature and danger of diſorders and the diviſions which were among us &c. ſo he clearly diſcovered his judgment againſt the new opinions and bitter practices which were ſprung up here. 1637. Mo. 6.

Mr. Cotton expounding that in 2. Chron: of the defection of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, and his preparations to recover them by war, and the prophets prohibition &c. proved from that in Numb: 27. 21. that the rulers of the people ſhould conſult with the miniſters of the churches upon occaſion of any war to be undertaken, and any other weighty buſineſs, tho' the caſe ſhould ſeem never ſo clear, as David in the caſe of Ziglag, and the Iſraelites in the caſe of Gibeah—Judges &c.

The Captain and ſoldiers all returned from Pequod, having loſt but one man, and he died of a flux, and another fell ſick of an old infirmity, an aſthma. The Indians about ſent in ſtill many Pequods heads and hands from Long Iſland and other places, and ſachems of Long Iſland came voluntarily and brought a tribute to us of 20 fathom of wampom, each of them, and Miantonomoh ſent here ſome Pequod ſquaws which had run from us. 26

The Naraganſetts ſent us the heads of three Pequods, one the chief of thoſe who murdered Capt. Stone. 31

Twenty men went in a pinnace to kill ſea horſe at the Iſle of Sable, and after ſix weeks returned home, and could not find the iſle ;—but after another month, about the of September, they ſet forth again with more ſkilful ſeamen, with intent to ſtay there all winter. Mr. Eaton and ſome others of Mr. Davenport's company went to view Quinepiack with intent to begin a plantation there. They had many offers here and at Plimouth, and they had viewed many places, but none could content. Some of the magiſtrates and miniſters of Connecticut being here, there was a day of meeting appointed to agree upon ſome articles of confederation, and notice was given to Plimouth that they might join in it, but their warning was ſo ſhort as they could not come. This was concludafter. See (3) 1643.

The ſynod called the Aſſembly began at Newtown ; there were all the teaching elders thro' the country, and ſome were come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport &c. The aſſembly began with prayer made by Mr. Shepherd the paſtor of Newtown. Then the erroneous opinions which were ſpread in the country were read (being Eighty in all) next the un- 30

1637. wholſome expreſſions, then the ſcriptures abuſed. Then
Mo. 6. they choſe two moderators for the next day, viz. Mr. Buckly and Mr. Hooker, and theſe were continued in that place all the time of the aſſembly. There were about eighty opinions—ſome blaſphemous, others erroneous, and all unſafe—condemned by the whole aſſembly; whereto near all the elders, and others ſent by the churches, ſubſcribed their names, but ſome liked not ſubſcription, tho' they conſented to the condemning of them.

Some of the church of Boſton, and ſome others were offended at the producing ſo many errors, as if it were a reproach laid upon the country without cauſe, and called to have the perſons named which held thoſe errors. To which it was anſwered and affirmed by many, both elders and others, that all thoſe opinions could be proved, by ſufficient teſtimony, to be held by ſome in the country, but it was not thought fit to name the perſons, but doctrines only. Yet this would not ſatisfy ſome, but they often called for witneſſes; and becauſe ſome of the magiſtrates declared to them (when they refuſed to forbear ſpeech unſeaſonably, tho' the moderators deſired them) that if they would not forbear it would prove diſturbance, and then the magiſtrate muſt interpoſe—they objected againſt this, as if the magiſtrate had nothing to do in this aſſembly. So as he was forced to tell one of them, that if he would not forbear, but make trial of it, he might ſee it executed. Upon this ſome of Boſton departed from the aſſembly, and come no more.

After the errors condemned, there were five points in queſtion between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on the one part, and the reſt of the elders on the other part; and thoſe after, put into ſuch expreſſions, as Mr. Cotton and they agreed, but Mr. Wheelwright did not.

1. The 1ſt. was about our union with Chriſt. The queſtion was whether we were united before we had active faith? The conſent was that there was no marriage union with Chriſt before actual faith, which is more than habitual.

2. The 2d. was, about evidencing juſtification. The conſent was, That ſome ſaving ſanctification (as faith &c.) was coexiſtent, concurrent, and coapparent (or at leaſt might be) with the witneſs of the ſpirit always.

3. That the new creature is not the perſon of a believer, but a body of ſaving graces in ſuch a one, and that Chriſt

Chriſt as a head doth enliven or quicken, preſerve and act the ſame, but Chriſt himſelf is no part of this new creature. 1637.

4. That tho' in effectual calling (in which the anſwer of the ſoul is by active faith wrought at the ſame inſtant by the ſpirit) juſtification and ſanctification be all together in them, yet God doth not juſtify a man before he be effectually called, and ſo a believer.

5. That Chriſt and his benefits may be offered and exhibited to a man under a covenant of works, but not in, or by a covenant of works.

Obs. In the firſt handling of theſe queſtions, either party delivered their arguments in writing, which were read in the aſſembly, and after, the anſwer to them, which ſpent much time without any effect, but after they came to open diſpute, the queſtions were ſoon determined, for ſo they came to underſtand each other better. The laſt day of the aſſembly other queſtions were debated and reſolved. Mo. 7.

1. That tho' women might meet, ſome few, together, to pray and adviſe one another, yet ſuch a ſet aſſembly as was then in practice at Boſton, where 60 or more did meet every week, and one woman, in a prophetical way, by reſolving queſtions of doctrine, and expounding ſcripture, took upon her the whole exerciſe, was agreed to be diſorderly and without rule.

2. Though a private member might aſk a queſtion publickly after ſermon, for information, yet this ought to be very wiſely and ſparingly done, and that with leave of the elders: but queſtions of then in uſe, whereby the doctrines delivered were reproved and the elders reproached and that with bitterneſs &c. was utterly condemned.

3. That a perſon refuſing to come to the aſſembly to abide the cenſure of the church, might be proceeded againſt, tho' abſent, yet it was held better that the magiſtrates help were called to compel him to be preſent.

4. That a member differing from the reſt of the church in any opinion which was not fundamental, ought not for that to forſake the ordinances there; and if ſuch did deſire diſmiſſion to any other church which was of his opinion, and did it for that end, the church whereof he was, ought to deny it for the ſame end.

The Aſſembly brake up, and it was propounded by the Governor that they would conſider, that ſeeing the Lord had 22

1637. Mo. 7. had been ſo graciouſly preſent in this aſſembly, that matters had been carried on ſo peaceably and concluded ſo comfortably in all love &c. if it were not fit to have the like meeting once a year, or at leaſt, the next year, to ſettle what yet remained to be agreed, or if but to nouriſh love &c. This motion was well liked of all, but it was not thought fit to conclude it.

There was a motion made alſo by the Governor, that whereas there was difference among the churches about the maintenance of their miniſters, it might be agreed what way was moſt agreeable to the rule of the goſpel; but the elders did not like to deal in that, leſt it ſhould be ſaid that this aſſembly was gathered for their private advantage.

26 Mr. Davenport, as he had been before requeſted by the aſſembly, preached out of Ph. 3. 16. wherein he laid down the occaſions of differences among chriſtians &c. and declared the effect and fruit of the aſſembly, and with much wiſdom and ſound argument purſuaded to unity &c. The diet of the aſſembly was provided at the country's charge, as alſo the fetching and ſending back of thoſe which came from Connecticut.

28 Two men were hanged at Boſton for ſeveral murders. The one Jo. Williams a ſhip carpenter, who being lately came into the country and put in priſon for theft, brake out of priſon with one Jo. Hoddy; when near the great pond in the way to Ipſwich beyond Salem, he murdered, and took away his clothes and what elſe he had and went in them to Ipſwich where he had been ſent to priſon, and was there again apprehended, and tho' his clothes were all bloody, yet he would confeſs nothing 'till about a week after that the body of Hoddy was found by the kine, who ſmelling the blood, made ſuch a roaring as the cow keeper looking about, found the dead body covered with a heap of Stones. The other, William Schooler, was a vintner in London. and had been a common adulterer as himſelf did confeſs and had wounded a man in a duel for which he fled into the low country, and from thence he fled from his Captain and came into this country, leaving his wife (a handſome neat woman) in England. He lived with another fellow at Merrimack, and there being a poor maid at Newbury, one Mary Sholy, who had deſired a guide to go with her to her maſter who dwelt at Piſcataq. he inquired her out, and agreed for 15ſ to conduct her thither. But two days after he returned,

and

and being aſked why he returned ſo ſoon, he anſwered that he had carried her within two or three miles of the place, and then ſhe would go no further. Being examined for this by the magiſtrates of Ipſwich, and no proof found againſt him, he was let go; but about a year after, being impreſſed to go againſt the Pequods, he gave ill ſpeeches, for which the Governor ſent warrant for him, and being apprehended and ſuppoſing it had been for the death of the maid, ſoon ſpake what they had heard which might occaſion ſuſpicion. He was again examined and divers witneſſes produced about it, whereupon he was committed, arraigned and condemned by due proceeding. The eſtate of the evidence was this. 1. He had led a vicious life and now lived like an athieſt. 2. He had fought out the maid and undertook to carry her to a place where he had never been. 3. When he croſſed Merrimack he landed in a place three miles diſtant from the uſual path from whence it was ſcarce poſſible ſhe ſhould get into the path. 4. He ſaid he went by Winicowett houſe which he ſaid ſtood on the contrary ſide of the way. 5. Being as he ſaid within two or three miles of Swanſcote when he left her, he went not thither to tell them of her, nor ſtaid by her that night, nor at his return home did tell any body of her 'till he was demanded of her. 6. When he came back he had above 10*ſ* in his purſe, and yet he ſaid ſhe would give him but 7*ſ*—and he carried no money with him. 7. At his return he had ſome blood upon his hat, and on his ſkirts before, which he ſaid was with a pigeon which he killed. 8. He had a ſcratch on the left ſide of his noſe, and being aſked by a neighbour how it came, he ſaid it was with a bramble, which could not be, it being of the breadth of a ſmall nail: and being aſked after by the magiſtrate, he ſaid it was with his piece, but that could not be on the left ſide. 9. The body of the maid was found by an Indian about half a year after in the midſt of a thick ſwamp, ten miles ſhort of the place he ſaid he left her in. and about three miles from the place where he landed by Merrimack (and it was after ſeen by the Engliſh) the fleſh being rotted off it, and the cloaths laid all on a heap by the body. 10. He ſaid that ſoon after he left her he met with a bear, and he thought that bear might kill her, yet he would not go back to ſave her. 11. He brake priſon and fled as far as powder horn hill, and there hid himſelf out of the way for fear of purſuit, and after, when he aroſe to go forward he could not, but as himſelf confeſſed, was forced to return back to priſon

1637. Mo. 7.

1637. again. At his death he confeſſed he had made many lies to excuſe himſelf, but denied that he had killed or raviſhed her. He was very loth to die, and had hope he ſhould be reprieved, but the court held him worthy of death in undertaking the charge of a ſhiftleſs maid, and leaving her, when he might have done other wife, in ſuch a place as he knew ſhe muſt needs periſh, if not preſerved by means unknown. Yet there were ſome miniſters and others who thought the evidence not ſufficient to take away life.

Mo. 8. 7 The Wren a ſmall pinnace, coming from Connecticut, was taken in a N.E. ſtorm and forced to anchor near Connyhaſſett where ſhe drave upon the rocks and was wrecked, but all the men were ſaved.

12 A day of Thankſgiving kept in all the churches for a victory againſt the Pequods, and for the ſucceſs of the aſſembly; but by reaſon of this latter ſome of Boſton would not be preſent at the public exerciſes. The captains and ſoldiers who had been in the late ſervice were feaſted, and after the ſermon, the magiſtrates and elders accompanied them to the door of the houſe where they dined.

Mo. 9. 1 Miantonomoh the Naraganſett ſachem came to Boſton. The Governor, Deputy and Treaſurer treated with him, and they parted upon fair terms. He acknowledged that all the Pequod country and Block Iſland were ours, and promiſed that he would not meddle with them but by our leave. We gave him leave to right himſelf for the injuries which J. and N. Cook had done him; and for the wrong they had done us we would right ourſelves in our own time.

The Governor and Treaſurer, by order of the general court, did demiſe to Edward Convers, the ferry between Boſton and Charleſtown to have the ſole tranſporting of paſſengers and cattle from one ſide to the other for three years from the firſt day of the next month, for the yearly rent of 40ſ—to be paid quarterly to the treaſurer, provided that he ſee it well attended and furniſhed with ſufficient boats, and that as ſoon as may be in the next ſpring he ſet up a convenient houſe on Boſton ſide and keep a boat there as neceſſity ſhall require. And he is allowed to take his wonted fees, viz. two pence for a ſingle perſon, and a penny a piece if there be more than one, as well on lecture days as at other times; and for every horſe and cow, with the man that goes with them, ſix pence,

pence, and for a goat one penny and a ſwine two pence. 1637
And if any ſhall deſire to paſs before it is light in the
morning, or after it is dark in the evening, he may take Mo. 10.
recompence anſwerable to the ſeaſon and his pains and
hazard, ſo it be not exceſſive.

A young man coming alone in a ſkiff from Newtown in a N.E. ſtorm of wind and ſnow, was found dead in his boat with a half crown piece in his mouth.

One Jewel, maſter of a bark was drowned: the manner was this. He was bound to the iſle of Sable to relieve our men there. His bark had lain near a week at Nataſcott waiting for him but he ſtaid at Boſton drinking, and could not be gotten away. When he went there was committed to his care a rundlet of ſtrong water ſent to ſome there, he promiſing upon his life it ſhould not be touched; but as he went down in his bark's ſkiff he went on ſhore at the caſtle, and there drank out about a gallon of it, and at night went away. But it being very cold and dark, they could not find their bark, and Jewel his hat falling into the water, as they were coming back to look for it he fell into the water near the ſhore where it was not ſix feet deep and could not be recovered.

There was great hope that the late General Aſſembly would have had ſome good effect in pacifying the troubles and diſſentions about matters of religion, but it fell out otherwiſe. For though Mr. Wheelwright and thoſe of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the aſſembly, yet they perſiſted in their opinions, & were as buſy in the nouriſhing contentions (the principal of them) as before. Whereupon the General Court being aſſembled, in the 2d, of the 9th Month, and finding upon conſultation, that two ſo oppoſite parties could not continue in the ſome body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to ſend away ſome of the principal. and for this a fair opportunity was offered by the remonſtrance or petition which they preferred to the Court the 9th of the 1ſt. month, wherein they affirm Mr. Wheelwright to be innocent, and that the court had condemned the truth of Chriſt, with divers other ſcandalous and ſeditious ſpeeches, as appears at large in the proceedings of this court, which were faithfully collected and publiſhed ſoon after the court brake up, ſubſcribed by more than 60 of that faction, whereof one Mr. Aſpenwal being one, and he that drew the ſaid petition being then ſent as a deputy for Boſton, was for the ſame diſmiſſed, and after called to the court and diſfranchiſed and baniſhed. I. Cogges-

1637. Mo. 10. hall was another deputy, who, tho' his hand was not to the petition, yet profeſſing himſelf to approve of it &c. was alſo diſmiſſed, and after disfranchiſed. Then the court ſent warrant to Boſton to ſend other deputies in their room, but they intended to have ſent the ſame men again, but Mr. Cotton coming amongſt them, diſſuaded them with much ado. Then the court ſent for Mr. Wheelwright, and he perſiſting to juſtify his ſermon, and his whole practice and opinions, and refuſing to leave either the place or his public exerciſing, he was disfranchiſed and baniſhed. Upon which he appealed to the King, but neither called witneſſes, nor deſired any act to be made of it. The court told him that an appeal did not lay, for by the King's grant, we had power to hear and determine without any reſervation; ſo he relinquiſhed his appeal, and the court gave him leave to go to his houſe; upon his promiſe, that if he were not gone out of the juriſdiction within fourteen days, he would render himſelf to one of the magiſtrates.

The court alſo ſent for Mrs. Hutchinſon, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her houſe, whereto 60 or 80 perſons did uſually reſort, and for reproaching moſt of the miniſters, viz. all except Mr. Cotton, for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the ſeal of the ſpirit, nor were able miniſters of the new teſtament, which were clearly proved againſt her, tho' ſhe ſought to ſhift it off, and after many ſpeeches to and fro, at laſt ſhe was ſo full as ſhe could not contain, but vented her revelations, amongſt which this was one, that ſhe had it revealed to her that ſhe ſhould come into New-England, and ſhould here be preſented, and that God would ruin us and our poſterity and the whole ſtate for the ſame. So the court proceeded and baniſhed her; but becauſe it was winter they committed her to a private houſe where ſhe was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none elſe.

The court called alſo Capt. Underhill and ſome five or ſix more of the principal whoſe hands were to the ſaid petition, and becauſe they ſtood to juſtify it, they were disfranchiſed, and ſuch as had public places were put from them.

The court alſo ordered that the reſt who had ſubſcribed the petition and would not acknowledge their fault (which near 20 of them did) and ſome others who had been

been chief ſtirrers in theſe contentions &c. ſhould be diſ- 1637.
armed. This troubled ſome of them very much, eſpecial- Mo. 10.
ly becauſe they were to bring them in themſelves; but at laſt when they ſaw no remedy they obeyed.

All the proceedings of this court againſt theſe perſons were ſet down at large with the reaſons and other obſervations, and were ſent into England to be publiſhed there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be diſcouraged from coming to us.

After this, many of the church of Boſton being highly offended with the Governor for this proceeding, were earneſt with the elders to have him called to account for it, but they were not forward in it, and himſelf underſtanding their intent, thought fit to prevent ſuch a public diſorder, and ſo took occaſion to ſpeak to the congregation to this effect. 1. That if he had been called, he would have deſired firſt to have adviſed with the Elders whether the church had power to call in queſtion the proceeding of the civil court. 2. He would have conſulted with the reſt of the court whether he might diſcover the concerns of the court to this aſſembly. 3. Tho' he knew that the elders and ſome others did know that the church could not inquire into the juſtice and proceedings of the court &c. yet for the ſanctification of ſuch as did not and were willing to be ſatisfied, he would declare his mind herein. 4. He ſhewed that if the church had ſuch power they muſt have it from Chriſt, but Chriſt had diſclaimed it in his practice, as by rule—Luke —Matth. —and the ſcripture holds not out any rule or example for it; and tho' Chriſt's kingly power be in his church, yet that is not that kingly power whereby he is King of kings and Lord of lords, for by that kings reign and princes &c.—It is true indeed, that magiſtrates as they are church members, are accountable to the church for their failings, but that is when they are out of their calling, for we have examples of the higheſt magiſtrates in the ſame kind, as Uzzin when he would go offer incenſe in the temple, the officers of the church called him to account and withſtood him. But when Aſa put a prophet in priſon, and when Salam put out Abiathar from the prieſthood, the one being a good act and the other ill, yet the officers of the church did not call either to account for it. If a magiſtrate ſhall in a private way take away a man's goods or his ſervant &c. the church may call him to account for it, but if he doth thus in preſuing

1637. a courſe of juſtice, tho' the thing be unjuſt, yet he is not accountable. 5. For himſelf he did nothing in the caſes
Mo. 10. of the brethren but by the advice and direction of our teacher and other of the elders. For in the oath which was adminiſter'd to him and the reſt, there was inſerted by his advice, this clauſe, "In all caſes wherein you are to give your votes &c. you are to give your vote as in your judgment and conſcience you ſhall ſee to be moſt for the public good" &c. and ſo for his part he was perſuaded that it would be moſt for the glory of God and the public good to paſs ſentence as they did. 6. He would give them one reaſon which was the ground for his judgment, and that was for that he ſaw that thoſe brethren &c. were ſo divided from the reſt of the country in their judgment and practice as it could not ſtand with the public peace that they ſhould continue amongſt us, ſo by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after Hagar and Iſhmael, he ſaw they muſt be ſent away.

Mo. 11. The church at Roxbury dealt with divers of the members who had their hands to the petition, and ſpent many days in public meetings to have brought them to ſee their ſin in that, as alſo in the corrupt opinions which they held, but could not prevail with them, ſo they proceeded to two or three admonitions, and when all was in union they caſt them out of the church. In their dealing with them they took ſome of them in plain lies and other foul diſtempers.

9 Divers of the elders went to Weymouth to reconcile the differences between the people and Mr. Soyer whom they had called thither with intent to have him their paſtor. They had good ſucceſs of their pains.

13 About 30 perſons of Boſton going out in a fair day to Spectacle Iſland to cut wood (the town being in great want thereof) the next night the wind roſe ſo high at N.E. with ſnow. and after at N.W. for two days, and then it froze ſo hard as the bay was all frozen up, except a little channel. In this twelve of them got to the Governor's garden, and ſeven more were carried in the ice in a ſmall ſkiff out at broad ſound, and kept among Brewſter's rocks without food or fire two days, and then the wind forbearing, they got to Pullin point to a little houſe there of Mr. Aſpenwall. Three of them got home the next day over the ice, but their hands and feet frozen. Some loſt their fingers, toes, and one died. The reſt went from Spectacle Iſland to the main, but two of them fell into the

the ice, yet recovered again. In this extremity of weather a ſmall pinnace was caſt away upon Long Iſland by Nataſcott, but the men were found and came home upon the ice. 1637

The powder and arms of the country which were kept at Boſton, were by order of the laſt court carried to Roxbury and Newtown. This year a plantation was began at Tecticutt* by a gentlewoman an ancient maid one Mrs. Poole, ſhe went thither and endured much hardſhip and loſt much cattle—called after Taunton. 16 *Taunton.

Another plantation was began and called Sandwich about 15 miles beyond Plimouth towards Cape Cod by many families which removed from Sagus, otherwiſe Linn.

Upon occaſion of the cenſures of the court upon Mrs. Hutchinſon and others, divers other foul errors were diſcovered which had been ſecretly carried by way of inquiry, but after were maintained by Mrs. Hutchinſon and others, and ſo many of Boſton were tainted with them, as Mr. Cotton finding how he had been abuſed, and made (as himſelf ſaid) their ſtalking horſe (for they pretended to hold nothing but what Mr. Cotton held and himſelf did think the ſame) did ſpend moſt of his time both publicly and privately, to diſcover theſe errors, and to reduce ſuch as were gone aſtray. And alſo the magiſtrates calling together ſuch of the elders as were near, did ſpend two days in conſulting with them about the way to help the growing evils. Some of the ſecret opinions were theſe, That there is no inherent righteouſneſs in a child of God—That neither abſolute nor conditional praiſes belong to a chriſtian—That we are not bound to the law not as a rule &c.—That the ſabbath is but as other days—That the ſoul is mortal 'till it be united to Chriſt, and then it is annihilated, and the body alſo, and a new given by Chriſt—That there is no reſurrection of the body.

Divers gentlemen and others being joined in a military company, deſired to be made a corporation, but the council conſidering from the example of the Pætorian band among the Romans and the templers in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a ſtanding authority of military men, which might eaſily in time overthrow the civil power, thought fit to ſtop it betimes, yet they were allowed to be a company, but ſubordinate to all authority. Mo. 12.

About this time the Indians which were in our families

1637. lies were much frighted with Hobbanock (as they called the Devil) appearing to them in divers ſhapes, and perſuading them to forſake the Engliſh, and not to come at the aſſemblies, nor to learn to read &c.

26 Mr. Pierce in the Salem ſhip, the Deſire, returned from the W. Indies after ſeven months. He had been at Providence and brought ſome cotton and tobacco and negroes &c, and ſalt from Tertugos. Dry fiſh and ſtrong liquors are the only commodities for thoſe parts. He met there two men of war ſet forth by the Lords &c. of Providence, with letters of marque who had taken divers prizes from the Spaniards, and many negroes.

Mo. 1. While Mrs. Hutchinſon continued at Roxbury divers of the elders and others reſorted to her, and finding her to perſiſt in maintaining thoſe groſs errors beforementioned, and many others to the number of 30 or thereabout, ſome of them wrote to the church at Boſton, offer-
15 ing to make proof of the ſame before the church &c. whereupon ſhe was called (the magiſtrates being deſired to give her licence to come) and the lecture was appointed to begin at 10. The general court being then at Newtown, the Governor and Treaſurer, being members of Boſton, were permitted to come down, but the reſt of the court continued at Newtown. When ſhe appeared the errors were read to her. The 1ſt. was, that the ſouls of men are mortal by generation, but after, made immortal by Chriſt's purchaſe. This ſhe maintained a long time, but at length ſhe was ſo clearly convinced by reaſon and ſcripture, and the whole church agreeing that ſufficient had been delivered for her conviction, that ſhe yielded ſhe had been in an error. Then they proceeded to three other errors. 1. That there was no reſurrection of theſe bodies, & that theſe bodies are not united to Chriſt, but every perſon united hath a new body &c. Theſe were alſo clearly confuted, but yet ſhe held her error, ſo as the church all, but two of her ſons, agreed ſhe ſhould be admoniſhed. and becauſe her ſons would not agree to it, they were admoniſhed alſo. Mr. Cotton pronounced the ſentence of admonition with great ſolemnity, and with much zeal and deteſtation of her errors and pride of ſpirit. The aſſembly continued 'till 8 at night, and all did acknowledge the ſpecial preſence of God's ſpirit therein ; and ſhe was appointed to appear again the next lecture day.

While the general court ſat, there came a letter directed

ed to the court from John Green of Providence who not long before had been impriſoned and fined for ſaying that the magiſtrates had uſurped upon the power of Chriſt in his church, and had perſecuted Mr. Williams and another whom they had baniſhed for diſturbing the peace by divulging their opinions againſt the authority of the magiſtrates &c. but upon his ſubmiſſion, his fine was remitted, and now by his letter he retracted his former ſubmiſſion and charged the court as he had done before. Now becauſe the court knew that divers others of Providence were of the ſame ill affection to the court, and were probably ſuſpected to be confederate in the ſame letter; the court ordered that if any of that plantation were found within our juriſdiction, he ſhould be brought before one of the magiſtrates, and if he would not diſclaim the charge in the ſaid letter, he ſhould be ſent home and charged to come no more into this juriſdiction upon pain of impriſonment and further cenſure. 1638. Mo. 1.

At this court divers of our chief military officers who had declared themſelves favorers of the familiſtical perſons and opinions were ſent for, and being told that the court having ſome jealouſy of them for the ſame, and therefore did deſire ſome general ſatisfaction from them, they did ingeniouſly acknowledge how they had been deceived and miſled by the pretence which had been held forth of advancing Chriſt and debaſing the creature, which ſince they had found to be otherwiſe, and that their opinions and practice led to diſturbance and deluſions, and ſo bleſſed God that had ſo timely diſcovered their error and danger to them.

At this court a committee was appointed of ſome magiſtrates, ſome miniſters and ſome others to compile a body of fundamental laws. Alſo the elders who had been requeſted to deliver their judgment concerning the law of adultery, about which three had been kept long in priſon, returned their anſwer with reaſons thereof, to this effect—That if the law had been ſufficiently publiſhed they ought to be put to death. Whereupon the court conſidering that there had been ſome diſpute in that point, and eſpecially for that it had been often queſtioned among the deputies and others whether that law were of force or not, being made by the court of aſſiſtants by allowance of the General Court, therefore it was thought ſafeſt that theſe three perſons ſhould be whipped and baniſhed, and the law was confirmed and publiſhed.

1638. The Caſtle Iſland being found to be very chargeable to maintain the garriſon there, and of little uſe but only
Mo. 1. to have ſome command of ſhips which ſhould come hither with paſſengers &c. there was a committee appointed to
22 diſpoſe of the ammunition there &c.

Mrs. Hutchinſon appeared again. She had been licenſed by the court, in regard ſhe had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's houſe, that both he and Mr. Davenport might have the more opportunity to deal with her, and the articles being again read to her, and her anſwer required, ſhe delivered it in writing, wherein ſhe made a retraction of near all, but with ſuch explanations and circumſtances as gave no ſatisfaction to the church, ſo as ſhe was required to ſpeak further to them. Then ſhe declared that it was juſt with God to leave her to herſelf as he had done, for ſlighting his ordinances, both magiſtracy and miniſtry; and confeſſed that what ſhe had ſpoken againſt the magiſtrates at the court by way of revelation, was raſh and ungrounded. and deſired the church to pray for her. This gave the church good hope of her repentance, but when ſhe was examined about ſome particulars as that ſhe had denied inherent righteouſneſs &c. ſhe affirmed that it was never her judgment: and though it was proved by many teſtimonies that ſhe had been of that judgment, and ſo had perſiſted, and maintained it by argument againſt divers, yet ſhe impudently perſiſted in her affirmation to the aſtoniſhment of all the aſſembly, ſo that after much time and many arguments had been ſpent to bring her to ſee her ſin, but all in vain, the church with one conſent caſt her out. Some moved to have her admoniſhed once more, but it being for manifeſt evil in matter of converſation, it was agreed otherwiſe; aud for that reaſon alſo the ſentence was denounced by the paſtor, matter of manners belonging properly to his place. After ſhe was excommunicated, her ſpirit which ſeemed before to be ſomewhat dejected, revived again, and ſhe gloried in her ſufferings, ſaying that it was the greateſt happineſs next to Chriſt, that ever befel her. Indeed it was a happy day to the church of Chriſt here, and to many poor ſouls who had been ſeduced by her who by what they heard and ſaw that day, were, thro' the grace of God, brought off quite from her errors, and ſettled again in the truth.

At this time the good providence of God ſo diſpoſed, divers of the congregation (being the chief men of the party, her huſband being one) were gone to Naraganſett

to ſeek out a new place for plantation, and taking liking of one in Plimouth patent, they went thither to have it granted them, but the magiſtrates there knowing their ſpirit, gave them a denial, but conſented they might buy of the Indians an Iſland in the Naraganſett Bay. 1638. Mo. 1.

After two or three days the Governor ſent a warrant to Mrs. Hutchinſon to depart this juriſdiction before the laſt of this month, according to the order of court, and for that end ſet her at liberty from her former conſtraint, ſo as ſhe was not to go forth of her own houſe 'till her departure; and upon the 28th. ſhe went by water to her farm at the Mount. where ſhe was to take water with Mr. Wheelwright's wife and family to go to Piſcat: but ſhe changed her mind and went by land to Providence and ſo to the Iſland in the Naraganſett Bay, which her huſband and the reſt of that ſect had purchaſed of the indians and prepared with all ſpeed to remove unto. For the court had ordered that except they were gone with their families by ſuch a time, they ſhould be ſummoned to the General Court.

Mr. Davenport & Mr. Predden & a brother of Mr. Eaton being miniſters alſo, went by water to Quinepiack, & with them many families removed out of this juriſdiction to plant in thoſe parts, being much taken with the opinion of the fruitfulneſs of that place, and more ſafety (as they conceived) from the danger of a General Governor, who was feared to be ſent this ſummer; which tho' it were a great weakening to theſe parts, yet we expected to ſee a good providence of God in it (for all poſſible means had been uſed to accommodate them here. Charleſtown offered them largely—Newbury their whole town—the court any place which was free) both for poſſeſſing thoſe parts which lay open for an enemy, and for ſtrengthening our friends at Connecticut, and for making room here for many who were expected out of England this year, and for diverting the thoughts and intentions of ſuch in England as intended evil againſt us; whoſe deſigns might be fruſtrated by our ſcattering ſo far, and ſuch as were now gone that way were as much in the eye of the ſtate of England as we here. 30

There came letters from Connecticut to the Governor of the Maſſachuſetts to deſire advice from the magiſtrates and elders here about Sequin and the Indians of the river, who had underhand, as was conceived, procured the Pequods to do that at Wethersfield the laſt year.

The

1638. Mo. 1. The caſe fell out to be this. Sequin gave the Engliſh land there upon Connecticut that he might ſit down by them and be protected. When he came to Wethersfield and had ſet down his wigwam they drave him away by force; whereupon he not being of ſtrength to repair this injury by open force, he ſecretly draws in the Pequods. Such of the magiſtrates and elders as could meet on the ſudden returned this anſwer, viz. That if the cauſe were thus, Sequin might upon this injury firſt offered by them right himſelf either by force or fraud, and that by the law of nations; and tho' the damage he had done them had been one hundred times more than what he ſuſtained from them, that is not conſiderable in point of a juſt war, neither was he bound, upon ſuch an open act of hoſtility publickly maintained, to ſeek ſatisfaction firſt in a peaceable way, it was enough that he had complained of it as an injury and breach of covenant. According to this advice they proceeded and made a new agreement with the indians of the river.

Now Yarmouth. Another plantation was now in hand at Mattakeeſe ſix miles beyond Sandwich. The undertaker of this was one Mr. Batchellor late paſtor at Sagus (ſince called Linn) being about 76 years of age, yet he walked thither on foot in a very hard ſeaſon. He and his company being all poor men, finding the difficulty, gave it over, and others undertook it.

The indians of Block Iſland ſent three men with 10 fathom of wampom for part of their tribute.

The wife of one William Dyer a millener in the new exchange, a very promp and fair woman, and both of them notoriouſly infected with Mrs. Hutchinſon's errors, and very cenſorious and troubleſome, and ſhe being of a very proud ſpirit and much addicted to revelations, had been delivered of a child ſome four months before, and the child buried (being ſtill born) and viewed of none but Mrs. Hutchinſon and the midwife one Hawkin's wife, a rank familiſt alſo, and another woman had a glimpſe of it, who not being able to keep counſel, as the other two did, ſome rumour began to ſpread that the child was a monſter. One of the elders hearing of it aſked Mrs, Hutchinſon when ſhe was ready to depart, whereupon ſhe told him how it was, and ſaid ſhe meant to have it chronicled, but excuſed her concealing of it until then, by advice (as ſhe ſaid) of Mr. Cotton, which coming to the Governor's knowledge, he called another of the magiſtrates

giſtrates and that elder, and ſent for the midwife, and examined her about it. At firſt ſhe confeſſed only that the head was defective and miſplaced, but being told that Mrs. Hutchinſon had recalled all, and that he intended to have it taken up and viewed, ſhe made this report of it, viz. It was a woman child ſtill born, about two months before the juſt time, having life a few hours before. It came hiplings 'till ſhe turned it. It was of ordinary bigneſs—it had a face, but no head, and the ears ſtood upon the ſhoulders and were like an ape's. It had no forehead, but over the eyes four horns hard and ſharp; two of them were about one inch long, the other two ſhorter—the eyes ſtanding out and the mouth alſo—the noſe hooked upwards—all over the breaſt and back full of ſharp pricks and ſcales like a thornback.—The navel and all the belly with the diſtinction of the ſex, were where the back ſhould be, and the back and hips before where the belly ſhould have been. Behind between the ſhoulders it had two mouths, and in each of them a piece of red fleſh ſticking out. It had arms and legs as other children, but inſtead of toes it had on each foot three claws like a young fowl with ſharp talons. 1638. Mo. 1.

The Governor ſpeaking with Mr. Cotton about it, he told him the reaſon why he adviſed them to conceal it. 1. Becauſe he ſaw a providence of God in it, that the reſt of the women which were coming and going in the time of travail ſhould then be abſent. 2. He conſidered that if it had been his own caſe he ſhould have deſired to have had it concealed. 3. He had known other monſtrous births which had been concealed, and that he thought God might intend only the inſtruction of the parents and ſuch other to whom it was ſhown &c. The like apology he made for himſelf in public which was well accepted.

The Governor, with advice of ſome other of the magiſtrates and of the elders of Boſton, cauſed the ſaid monſter to be taken up, and tho' it were much corrupted, yet moſt of theſe things were to be ſeen, as the horns and claws, the ſcales &c. When it died in the mother's body (which was about two hours before the birth) the bed whereon the mother lay did ſhake, and withal there was ſuch a noiſome ſavour as moſt of the women were taken with convulſions (which they never had before nor after) and ſo were ſent for home, ſo as by theſe occaſions it came to be concealed.

Another thing obſervable was the diſcovery of it, which was juſt when Mrs. Hutchinſon was caſt out of the

1638. church, for Mrs. Dyer going forth with her, a ſtranger
Mo. 2. aſked what young woman it was, the other anſwered it was the woman which had the monſter, which gave the firſt occaſion to ſome that heard it to ſpeak of it. The midwife preſently after this diſcovery went out of the juriſdiction, and indeed it was time for her to be gone, for it was known that ſhe uſed to give young women oil of mandrakes and other ſtuff to cauſe conception; and ſhe grew into great ſuſpicion to be a witch, for it was credibly reported that when ſhe gave any medicines (for ſhe practiſed phyſic) ſhe would aſk the patient if ſhe did believe ſhe could help her &c.

Another obſervable paſſage was, that the father of this monſter coming home at this very time, was the next Lords day queſtioned in the church for divers monſtrous errors, as for denying all inherent righteouſneſs &c. which he maintained, and was for the ſame admoniſhed.

12 A general faſt was kept thro' all the churches by advice from the court, for ſeeking the Lord to prevent evil that we feared to be intended againſt us from England by a general Governor—for the ſafe arrival of our friends from thence (very many being expected) and for eſtabliſhment of peace and truth amongſt us.

21 Owſamekin the ſachem of Acooemeck on this ſide Connecticut, came to the Governor and brought a preſent of eighteen ſkins of beaver from himſelf and the ſachems of Mohegan beyond Connecticut, and Pakontuckett. The occaſion was, (as he ſaid) it was reported that we were angry with him, and intended to war upon them, ſo they came to ſeek peace. The Governor received the preſent, and having none of the other magiſtrates at hand to adviſe with, anſwered them, that if they had done no wrong to the Engliſh, nor aided our enemies, we would be at peace with them, and according ſignified ſo much to the magiſtrates at Connecticut. They took this anſwer well, and departed with the letter.

23 This was a very hard winter. The ſnow lay from Nov. 4th. to March 23d. one and an half yard deep about the Maſſachuſetts, and a yard deep beyond Merrimack, and ſo the more North the deeper, and the ſpring was very backward. This day it did ſnow two hours together (after much rain from N. Eaſt) with flakes as great as ſhillings. This was in the year 1637.

26 Mr. Coddington who had been an aſſiſtant from the firſt coming over of the Governor, being with his wife,

taken

taken with the familiſtical opinions, removed to Aquiday Iſland in the Naraganſett Bay. 1638.

At the court of elections the former Governor John Winthrop was choſen again. The ſame day at night he was taken with a ſharp fever which brought him near death, but many prayers were put up to the Lord for him, and he was reſtored after one month. Mo. 3. 2

This court the name of Newtown was altered and it was called Cambridge.

The ſpring was ſo cold that men were forced to replant their corn two or three times, for it rotted in the ground; but when we feared a great dearth God ſent a warm ſeaſon, which brought on corn beyond expectation.

Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear warm weather, the wind Weſterly, there was a great earthquake; it came with a noiſe like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was preſently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Naraganſett, at Piſcat: and all the parts round about. It ſhook the ſhips which rode in the harbour and all the Iſlands. The noiſe and the ſhaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet 20 days after by times. Mo. 4. 1

Unkus (alias Okoco) the Mohegan ſachem in the twiſt of Pequod river came to Boſton with 37 men. He came from Connecticut with Mr. Haynes, and tendred the Governor a preſent of 20 fathom of wampom. This was at the court, and it was thought fit by the council to refuſe it 'till he had given ſatisfaction about the Pequods he kept &c. Upon this he was much dejected, and made account we would have killed him, but two days after, having received good ſatisfaction of his inocency &c. and he promiſing to ſubmit to the order of the Engliſh touching the Pequods he had, and the difference between the Naraganſetts and him, we accepted his preſent. And about half an hour after he came to the Governor, and entertained him with theſe compliments. This heart (laying his hand upon his breaſt) is not mine but yours. I have no men, they are all yours. Command me any difficult thing, I will do it. I will not believe any indians words againſt the Engliſh. If any man ſhall kill an Engliſhman, I will put him to death were he ever ſo dear to me. So the Governor gave him a fair red coat, and defrayed his and his men's due, and gave them corn to relieve them homeward, and a letter of protection to all men &c. and he departed very joyful. 5

Many

1638. Many ſhips arrived this year with people of good quality and eſtate, notwithſtanding the councils order that
Mo. 4. none ſhould come without the King's licence, but God ſo wrought that ſome obtained, and others came away without. The troubles which aroſe in Scotland about the book of common prayer, and the canons which the King would have forced upon the Scotch churches, did ſo take up the King and council that they had neither heart nor leiſure to look after the affairs of New-England, yet upon report of the many thouſands which were preparing to come away, the archbiſhops cauſed all ſhips to be ſtayed, but upon the petition of the maſters, and ſuggeſtion of the great danger it would be to the commonwealth in hindering the Newfoundland trade, which brought in much money &c. they were preſently releaſed, and in this and other paſſages it plainly appeared that near all the Lords of the council did favor this plantation, and all the officers of the cuſtom houſe were very ready to further it, for they never made ſearch of any goods &c. but let men bring what they would without queſtion or controul, for ſince the Lords avowed their party &c. they and others who favored not religion were amazed to ſee men of all conditions, rich and poor, ſervants and others, offering themſelves ſo readily for New-England, when for furniſhing of other plantations they were forced to ſend about their ſtalls, and when they had gotten any they were forced to keep them as priſoners
Mo. 6. 3 from running away.

In the night was a very great tempeſt or hurricane at S.W. which drave a ſhip on ground at Charleſtown and brake down the windmill there, and did much other harm, It flowed twice in ſix hours, and about Naraganſett it raiſed the tide 14 or 15 foot above the ordinary ſpring tides, upright.

Janemoh the ſachem of Niantick had gone to Long Iſland and rifled ſome of thoſe indians which were tributaries to us. The ſachem complained to our friends of Connecticut who wrote us about it, and ſent Capt. Maſon with ſeven men to require ſatisfaction. The Governor of Maſſachuſetts wrote alſo to Mr. Williams to treat with Miantonomoh about ſatisfaction, or otherwiſe to bid them look for war. Upon this Janemoh went to Connecticut and made his peace and gave full ſatisfaction for all injuries.

Two ſhips which came over this year much peſtured, loſt

loſt many paſſengers, and ſome principal men, and many fell ſick after they were landed, and many of them died. 1638. Mo. 6.

Four ſervants of Plimouth ran from their maſters, and coming to Providence, they killed an indian. He eſcaped after he was deadly wounded in the belly and got to other indians, ſo being diſcovered they fled and were taken at the Iſle Aquiday. Mr. Williams gave notice to the Governor of Maſſachuſetts and deſired advice. He returned anſwer, that ſeeing they were of Plimouth they ſhould certify Plimouth of them, and if they would ſend for them to deliver them, otherwiſe, ſeeing no Engliſhman had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the Iſland any Governor eſtabliſhed, it would be ſafeſt to deliver the principal (who was certainly known to have killed the party) to the Indians his friends, with caution that they ſhould not put him to torture, and to keep the other three to further conſideration. After this Plimouth men ſent for them, but one had eſcaped, and the Governor there wrote to the Governor here for advice, eſpecially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England. The Governor returned anſwer of encouragement to proceed notwithſtanding ſeeing no appeal did lie, for that they could not be tried in England, and that the whole country here were intereſted in the caſe and would expect to ſee juſtice done, whereupon they proceeded as appears after.

Many of Boſton and others who were of Mrs. Hutchinſon's judgment and party removed to the Iſle of Aquiday, and many who were of the rigid ſeperatiſts and favoured anabaptiſm removed to Providence, ſo as thoſe parts began to be well peopled.

There came over this ſummer 20 ſhips, and at leaſt, 300 perſons, ſo as they were forced to look out new plantations. One was began at Merrimack and another four or five miles above Concord, and another at Winicowett.

The three priſoners being brought to Plimouth and examined, did all confeſs the murder, and that they did it to get his wampom &c. but all the queſtion was about the death of the indian, for no man could witneſs that he ſaw him dead, but Mr. Williams and Mr. James of Providence made oath that his wound was mortal;—at laſt two indians, who with much difficulty were procred to

1638. to come to the trial (for they ſtill feared that the Engliſh were conſpired to kill all the indians) made oath after this manner, viz. that if he were not dead of that wound then they would ſuffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed. Two of them died very penitently, eſpecially Arthur Peach, a young man of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good ſervice againſt the Pequods.

The fourth eſcaped to Piſcat: the Governor ſent after him, but thoſe of Piſcat: conveyed him away and openly withſtood his apprehenſion. It was their uſual manner (ſome of them) to countenance all ſuch lewd perſons as fled from us to them.

Mo. 7. The General Court was aſſembled, in which it was agreed, that whereas a very ſtrict order was ſent from the Lords Commiſſioners for plantations for the ſending home our Patent, upon pretence that judgment had paſſed againſt it upon a *Quo Warranto*, a letter ſhould be written by the Governor in the name of the court to excuſe our not ſending of it, for it was reſolved to be beſt not to ſend it, becauſe then ſuch of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be ſurrendered, and that thereupon we ſhould be bound to receive ſuch a Governor and ſuch orders as ſhould be ſent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and ſome weak ones among ourſelves would think it lawful, if not neceſſary, to accept a General Governor. The copy of the letter is reſerved &c. in form of a petition. See the after fol. pag.

At this court a law was made about ſuch as ſhould continue excommunicated ſix months, and for public thankſgiving for the arrival of the ſhips and for the coming in of harveſt beyond expectation &c. This law was after repealed.

At this court alſo Capt. Underhill being about to remove to Mr. Wheelwright, petitioned for three hundred acres of land promiſed him formerly, by occaſion whereof he was queſtioned about ſome ſpeeches he had uſed in the ſhip lately in his return out of England, viz. that he ſhould ſay that we were zealous here as the Scribes and Phariſees were, and as Paul was before his converſion &c. which he denying, they were proved to his face by a ſober godly woman whom he had ſeduced in the ſhip, and drew to his opinion, but ſhe was after freed again. Among other paſſages he told her how he came to his aſſurance, and that was thus—He had lain under

a ſpirit of bondage and a legal way five years, and could 1638.
get no aſſurance 'till at length as he was taking a pipe of
tobacco, the ſpirit ſet home an abſolute promiſe of free Mo. 7.
grace, with ſuch aſſurance and joy as he never ſince doubted of his good eſtate, neither ſhould he, tho' he ſhould fall into ſin. He would not confeſs nor deny this, but took exceptions at the court for crediting one witneſs againſt him, and withal ſaid he was ſtill of the ſame opinion he had been &c. whereupon he was demanded if he were of the ſame opinion he had been in about the petition or remonſtrance, he anſwered yes, and that his retraction was only of the manner, not the matter. Whereupon his retraction which he had lately delivered to the Governor to be preſented to this court was read, wherein he profeſſeth how the Lord had brought him to ſee his ſin in condemning the court and paſing the bounds of modeſty and ſubmiſſion which is required in private perſons &c. and in what trouble of ſpirit he had been for it. Upon this the court committed him for abuſing the court with a ſhew of retraction and intending no ſuch thing, and the next day he was called again and baniſhed. The Lords day following he made a ſpeech in the aſſembly, ſhewing that as the Lord was pleaſed to convert Paul, as he was in perſecuting &c. ſo he might manifeſt himſelf to him as he was taking the moderate uſe of the creature called tobacco. He profeſſed withal that he knew not wherein he had deſerved the ſentence of the court, and that he was ſure that Chriſt was his &c. The elders reproved him for his ſpeech, and Mr. Cotton told him that he brake a rule in condemning publickly the ſentence of the court, before he had privately convinced the magiſtrates or ſome of them, and told him alſo that altho' God doth often lay a man under a ſpirit of bondage when he is walking in ſin as Paul was, yet he never ſends ſuch a ſpirit of comfort but in an ordinance, as he did to the ſame Paul by Ananias, and ſo adviſed him well to examine the revelation and joy which he had.

The next Lord's day the ſame Capt. Underhill having been privately dealt with upon ſuſpicion of incontinency with a neighbour's wife, and not hearkening to it, was publickly queſtioned and put under admonition. The matter was, for that the woman being young and beautiful, and withal of a jovial ſpirit and behaviour he did daily frequent her houſe, and was divers times found there alone

1638. alone with her, the door being locked in the inside. He confeſſed it was ill becauſe it had an appearance of evil
Mo. 7. in it, but his excuſe was that the woman was in great trouble of mind and ſore temptation, and that he reſorted to her to comfort her, and that when the door was found locked upon them they were in private prayer together, but this practice was clearly condemned alſo by the elders, affirming that it had not been of good report for any of them to have done the like, and that they ought in ſuch caſe to have called in ſome brother or ſiſter, and not to have locked the door &c. They alſo declared that once he procured them to go viſit her, telling them that ſhe was in great trouble of mind, but when they came to her, taking her it ſeems upon the ſudden, they perceived no ſuch thing. See the iſſue of this after.

Mrs. Hutchinſon being removed to the Iſle of Aquiday in the Naraganſett Bay, after her time was fulfilled that ſhe expected deliverance of a child, was delivered of a monſtrous birth, which being diverſly related in the country, and in the open aſſembly at Boſton upon a lecture day declared by Mr. Cotton to be, 27 ſingula fruſta vel globulos ſeminis maſculini ſine ulla mutatione aut mixtura de femina—and thereupon gathered that it might ſignify her error in denying inherent righteouſneſs, but that all was Chriſt in us, and nothing of ours in our faith, love &c. Hereupon the Governor wrote to Mr. Clark a phyſician and a preacher to thoſe of the Iſland to know the certainty thereof, who returned him this anſwer. Mrs. Hutchinſon, ſix weeks before her delivery, perceived her body to be greatly diſtempered, and her ſpirits failing, and in the regard doubtful of life, ſhe ſent to me &c. and not long after (in immoderate fluor and urine) it was brought to light, and I was called to ſee it, which I beheld firſt unwaſhed, and afterwards in warm water, ſeveral lumps, every one of them greatly confuſed, and if you conſider each of them according to the repreſentation of the whole, they were altogether without form, but if they were conſidered in reſpect of the parts of each lump of fleſh, there was then a repreſentation of innumerable diſtinct bodies in the form of a globe, not much unlike the ſkins of ſome fiſh, ſo confuſedly knit together by ſo many ſeveral ſtrings (which I conceive were the beginnings of veins and nerves) ſo that it was impoſſible either to number the ſmall round pieces in every lump,

much

much leſs to diſcern from whence every ſtring did fetch its original, they were ſo ſnarled one with another. The ſmall globes I likewiſe opened, and perceived the matter of them (ſetting aſide the membrane in which they were involumed) to be partly wind and partly water. Of theſe ſeveral lumps there were about 26, according to the relation of thoſe who more narrowly ſearched into the number of them. I took notice of ſix or ſeven of ſome bigneſs, the reſt were ſmall, but all, as I have declared, except one or two which differed much from the reſt both in matter and form; and the whole was like the of the being ſimular and every where like itſelf. When I had opened it the matter ſeemed to be hard congealed. 1638. Mo. 7.

The Governor not ſatisfied with this relation, ſpake after with the ſaid Mr. Clark, who thus cleared all the doubts. The lumps were 26 or 27 diſtinct and not joined together; there came no ſecundines after them—ſix of them were as great as his fiſt, and one as great as his two fiſts; the reſt each leſs than other, and the ſmalleſt about the bigneſs of the top of his thumb. The globes were round things included in the lumps, about the bigneſs of a ſmall indian bean, and like the pearl in a man's eye. The two lumps which differed from the reſt were like liver or congealed blood, and had no ſmall globes in them as the reſt had. Mr. Cotton next lecture day acknowledged his error, and that he had his information by a letter from her huſband.

A ſhip of Barnſtable arrived with about 80 paſſengers, near all weſtern people. There came with them a godly miniſter, one Mr. Matthews. Here arrived a ſmall Spaniſh frigate with hides and tallow, ſhe was a prize taken by Capt. Newman who was ſet out with letters of marque by the Lords &c. of the Iſle of Providence. 21

This year there came a letter from Mr. Thomas M Clerk of the Council in England, directed to Mr. Winthrop the preſent Governor, and therein an order from the Lords Commiſſioners for foreign plantations (being all of the Council) wherein they ſtraightly required the Patent to be ſent home by the firſt ſhip. This letter and order were produced at the General Court laſt paſt, and there agreed not to ſend home the Patent, but to return anſwer to the Lords by way of humble petition, which was drawn up and ſent accordingly. Theſe inſtruments

1638. are all among the Governor's papers, and the effect of them would be here inſerted.

25 Being the third day of the week, and two days before the change, the wind having blown at N.E. all the day and rainy in the night, was a mighty tempeſt, and withal the higheſt tide which had been ſeen ſince our coming into this country, but thro' the good providence of God, it did little harm. About 14 days after the wind having been at N.W. and then calm turn, came in the greateſt eaſtern ſea which had been in our time. Mr. Pierce who came in a week after had that time a very great tempeſt three days at N. Eaſt.

A remarkable providence appeared in a caſe which was tried at the laſt court of aſſiſtants. Divers neighbours of Linn, by agreement, kept their cattle by turns. It fell out to the turn of one Gillow to keep them, and as he was driving them forth, another of theſe neighbours went along with him and kept ſo earneſtly in talk that his cattle ſtrayed and got in the corn, then this other neighbour left him and would not help him recover his cattle, but went and told another how he had kept Gillow in talk that he might loſe his cattle &c. The cattle getting into the indian corn eat ſo much 'ere they could be gotten out, that two of them fell ſick of it, and one of them died preſently, and theſe two cows were that neighbours cows who had kept Gillow in talk, &c. The man brings his action againſt Gillow for his cow, not knowing that he had witneſs of his ſpeech, but Gillow producing witneſs &c. barred him of his action, and had good coſt &c.

The court taking into conſidaration the great diſorder proceeding thro' the country in coſtlineſs of apparel, and following new faſhions, ſent for the elders of the churches, and conferred with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them to redreſs it, by urging it upon the conſciences of their people, which they promiſed to do. But little was done about it, for divers of the elders wives &c. were in ſome meaſure partners in this general diſorder.

8ber. About two years ſince, one Mr. Bernard a miniſter at Batcomb in Somerſetſhire in England ſent over two books in writing, one to the magiſtrates, and the other to the elders, wherein he laid down arguments againſt the manner of gathering our churches &c. which the elders could not anſwer 'till this time, by reaſon of the many trou-

troubles about Mrs. Hutchinſon's opinions &c. Mr. Cotton alſo anſwered another book ſent over in defence of ſet form of prayer. This I ſuppoſe was Mr. Balls' book. 1638.

About this time was very much rain and ſnow; in ſix weeks together, ſcarce two days without rain or ſnow. This was obſerved by ſome as an effect of earthquake.

A church was gathered at Dedham with good [illegible]ober. 8 probation—and 28th, Mr. Peck ordained teacher at Hingham.

By order of the laſt general court the Governor wrote a letter to Mr. Burdet, Mr. Wiggin and another of the plantation of Piſcat: to this effect, That whereas there had been good correſpondency between us formerly, we could not but be ſenſible of their entertaining and countenancing ſome that we had caſt out, and that our purpoſe was to ſurvey our utmoſt limits, and make uſe of them. Mr. Burdet returned a ſcornful anſwer, and would not give the Governor his title &c. This was very ill taken, for that he was one of our body and ſworn to our government, and a member of the church of Salem, ſo as the Governor was purpoſed to ſummon him to appear at our court to anſwer his contempt, but adviſing with the Deputy about it, he was diſſuaded from it, the rather for that if he ſhould ſuffer in this cauſe, it would ingratiate him more with the archbiſhip (with whom he had intelligence &c.) but his council was rather to undermine him by making him thoroughly known &c. to his friends in Piſcat; and to take them from him. Whereupon the Governor wrote to Edward Hilton declaring his ill dealing, and ſent a copy of his letter, and adviſing them to take heed how they put themſelves under his power, but rather to give us a proof of their reſpect towards us &c.—He intimated withal how ill it would reliſh if they ſhould advance Capt. Underhill whom we had caſt out for abuſing the court with framing a retraction both of his ſeditious practice and alſo of his corrupt opinions, and after, denying it again; and alſo for caſting reproach upon our churches &c. ſignifying withal that he was now found to have been an unclean perſon, for he was charged by a godly young woman to have ſollicited her chaſtity under pretence of chriſtian love, and to have confeſſed to her that he had his will often times of the cooper's wife, and all out of

ſtrength

1638. ſtrength of love, and the church had ſent for him, and ſent him a licence to come and go, under the hands of the Governor and Deputy, but he refuſed to come, excuſing himſelf by letters to the elders, that the licence was not ſufficient &c. and by letters to the Governor, that he had no rule to come anſwer to any offence, except his baniſhment were releaſed, but to the matter he was charged with, he gave no anſwer, but ſought an evaſion. Piſcat: men had choſen him their Governor before the letter came to them.

13 The Governor went by water to Salem where he was entertained with all the reſpect that they could ſhew him. The 14th he returned by land, and they ſent ſix of their military officers with carbines to guard him to Boſton.

17 Roger Herlakenden one of our magiſtrates, about 30 years of age, ſecond ſon of Herlakenden of Karlſcoke in Eſſex Eſqr. died at Cambridge of the ſmall pox. He was a very godly man and of good uſe both in commonwealth and in church. He was buried with military honor, becauſe he was Lieut. Colonel. He left behind a virtuous gentlewoman and two daughters. He died in great peace, and left a ſweet memorial behind him of his piety and virtue.

Mo. 10. 6 Dorothy Talby was hanged at Boſton for murdering her own daughter a child of three years old. She had been a member of the church of Salem and of good eſteem for godlineſs &c. but falling at difference with her huſband thro' melancholy or ſpiritual deluſions, ſhe ſometimes attempted to kill him and her children and herſelf, by refuſing water, ſaying it was ſo revealed to her &c. After much patience and divers admonitions, not prevailing, the church caſt her out; whereupon ſhe grew worſe, ſo as the magiſtrates cauſed her to be whipped, whereupon ſhe was reformed for a time, and carried herſelf more dutifully to her huſband &c. but ſoon after ſhe was ſo poſſeſſed with Satan, that he perſuaded her by his deluſions, which ſhe liſtened to as revelations from God, to break the neck of her own child, that ſhe might free it from future miſery. This ſhe confeſſed upon her apprehenſion, yet at her arraignment ſhe ſtood mute a good ſpace, 'till the Governor told her ſhe ſhould be preſſed to death, and then ſhe confeſſed the indictment. When ſhe was to receive judgment ſhe would not uncover her face nor ſtand up but as ſhe was forced, nor give any teſtimo-

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ny of her repentance, either then or at her execution. The cloth which ſhould have covered her face ſhe plucked off and put between the rope and her neck. She deſired to have been beheaded, giving this reaſon, that it was leſs painful and leſs ſhameful. After a ſwing or two ſhe catched at the ladder. Mr. Peter her late paſtor and Mr. Wilſon went with her to the place of execution, but could do no good with her. Mr. Peter gave an exhortation to the people to take heed of revelations &c. and of deſpiſing the ordinance of excommunication as ſhe had done; for when it was to have been denounced againſt her ſhe turned her back, and would have gone forth if ſhe had not been ſtayed by force. 1638. Mo. 10.

One Capt. Newman being ſet forth with commiſſion from the earl of Holland Governor of the Weſtminſter company, and the earl of Warwick and others of the ſame company, to ſpoil the Spaniards within the limits of their . nt in the Weſt Indies, after he had taken many of them ſmall veſſels &c. returned home by the Maſſachuſetts in a ſmall pinnace with which he had taken all the prizes (for his great ſhip was of no uſe for that purpoſe.) He brought many hides and much tallow. The hides he ſold here for £17 10. the ſtone, the tallow at 29/ the C. and ſet ſail for England (10) 1ſt.—He was caſt away at with a very rich prize, in the great hurricance 1642.

A general faſt was kept upon the motion of the elders to the Governor and Council. The chief occaſion was the much ſickneſs of pox and fevers ſpread thro' the country (yet it was to the Eaſt and South alſo)—the apparent decay of power of religion, and the general declining of profeſſors to the world &c. Mr. Cotton in his exerciſe that day at Boſton did confeſs and bewail, as the churches, ſo his own ſecurity, ſloth and credulity, whereupon ſo many and dangerous errors had gotten up and ſpread in the church, and went over all the particulars, and ſhewed how he came to be deceived;—the errors being framed in words, ſo were the truths which he had preached, and the falſhood of the maintainers of them, who uſually would deny to him what they had delivered to others &c. He acknowledged that ſuch as had been ſeducers of others (inſtancing in ſome of thoſe of the iſland, tho' he named them not) had been juſtly baniſhed. Yet he ſaid that ſuch as had been only miſled, and others who had done any thing out of a miſguided con- 13

ſceience

1638. Mo. 10. ſcience (not being greatly evil) ſhould be borne withal, and firſt referred to the church, and if that could not heal them, they ſhould rather be impriſoned, fined &c. than baniſhed, tho' it was likely no other church would receive them.

Thoſe who were gone with Mrs. Hutchinſon to Aquiday fell into new errors daily. One Nic: Eaſon a tanner taught that gifts and graces were that Antichriſt mentioned Theſs. 2. 2. that which witheld &c. was the preaching of the law, and that every of the eleſt had the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo the Devil indwelling. Another, one Herne taught that women had no ſouls, and that Adam was not created in true holineſs &c. for then he could not have loſt it.

Thoſe who went to the falls of Piſcataqua gathered a church and wrote to our church to deſire us to diſmiſs Mr. Wheelwright to them for an officer, but becauſe he deſired it not himſelf, the elders did not propound it. Soon after came his own letter with theirs for his diſmiſſion, which thereupon was granted, and others likewiſe, upon their requeſt, were alſo diſmiſſed thither.

The Governor's letter to Mr. Hilton about Mr. Burdet and Capt Underhill, was by them intercepted and opened; and thereupon they wrote preſently into England againſt us; for they were extremely moved by the Governor's letter, but could take no advantage by it, for he made account when he wrote it, that Mr. Hilton would ſhow it them. And upon this Capt. Underhill wrote a letter to Mr. Cotton, full of high and threatning words againſt us, but he wrote another at the ſame time to the Governor in very fair terms, intreating an obliterating of all that was paſt, and a bearing with human infirmities &c. diſavowing all purpoſe of revenge &c. See after (1) 1639.

The devil would never ceaſe to diſturb our peace and to raiſe up inſurgents one after another. Amongſt the reſt there was a woman in Salem, one Oliver his wife, who had ſufferred ſomewhat in England for refuſing to bow at the name of Jeſus, tho' otherwiſe ſhe was conformable to all their orders. She was for ability of ſpeech and appearance of zeal and devotion, far before Mrs. Hutchinſon, and ſo the fitter inſtrument to have done hurt, but that ſhe was poor and had little acquaintance. She took offence at this, that ſhe might not be admitted to the Lord's ſupper without giving public ſatisfaction

faction to the church of her faith &c. and covenanting or profeſſing to walk with them according to the rule of the goſpel, ſo as upon the ſacrament day ſhe openly called for it, and ſtood to plead her right, tho' ſhe were denied, and would not forbear before the magiſtrate Mr. Endicott did threaten to ſend the conſtable to put her forth. This woman was brought to the court for diſturbing the peace in the church, and there ſhe gave ſuch peremptory anſwers as ſhe was committed 'till ſhe ſhould find ſureties for her good behaviour. After ſhe had been in priſon three or four days, ſhe made to the Governor and ſubmitted herſelf, and acknowledged her fault in diſturbing the church:—whereupon he took her huſband's bond for her good behaviour, and diſcharged her out of priſon; but he found after, that ſhe ſtill held her former opinions, which were very dangerous. As 1. That the church is the head of the people, both magiſtrates and miniſters met together, and that theſe have power to ordain miniſters &c. 2. That all that dwell in the ſame town and will profeſs their faith in Chriſt Jeſus ought to be received to the ſacraments there, and that ſhe was perſuaded that if Paul were at Salem he would call all the inhabitants there ſaints. 3. That excommunication is no other but where chriſtians withdraw private communion from one that hath offended, 1638. Mo. 10.

About five years after this woman was adjudged to be whipped for reproaching the magiſtrates. She ſtood without tying, and bore her puniſhment with a maſculine ſpirit, glorying in her ſuffering. But after when ſhe came to conſider the reproach which would ſtick by her &c. ſhe was much dejected about it. She had a cleft ſtick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the elders. (6) 1646.

At Providence alſo the Devil was not idle. For whereas at their firſt coming thither Mr. William's and the reſt did make an order that no man ſhould be moleſted for his conſcience, now men's wives and children and ſervans claimed liberty hereby to go to all religious meetings, tho' never ſo often, or tho' private upon the week days; and becauſe one Udrin refuſed to let his wife go to Mr. Williams ſo often as ſhe was called for, they required to have him cenſured. But there ſtood up one Arnold a witty man of their own company, and withſtood it, telling them that when he conſented to that order, he never intended it ſhould extend to the breach of any

1638. Mo. 10. any ordinance of God ſuch as the ſubmiſſion of wives to their huſbands &c. and gave divers ſolid reaſons againſt it. Then one Green (who hath married the wife of one Beggerly, whoſe huſband is living, and no divorce, but only it was ſaid that he lived in adultery and had confeſſed it) he replied, that if they ſhould reſtrain their wives &c. all the women in the country would cry out of them. Arnold anſwered him thus. Did you pretend to leave Maſſachuſetts becauſe you would not offend God to pleaſe men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment to pleaſe women? Some were of opinion that if Udrin would not ſuffer his wife to have her liberty, the church ſhould diſpoſe her to ſome other man who would uſe her better. Arnold told them that it was not the woman's deſire to go ſo often from home, but only Mr. Williams' and others. In court after, when they would have cenſured Udrin, Arnold told them that it was againſt their own order, for Udrin did that, and did it out of conſcience, and their order was that no man ſhould be cenſured for his conſcience.

Another plot the old ſerpent had againſt us by ſowing jealouſies and differences between us and our friends at Connecticut and alſo Plimouth. This latter was about our bounds. They had planted Scituate, and had given out all the lands to Conyhaſſett. We deſired only ſo much of the marſhes there as might accommodate Hingham, which being denied, we cauſed Charles River to be ſurveyed, and found it came ſo far ſouthward as would fetch in Scituate and Concord, but this was referred to a meeting between us.

The differences between us and thoſe of Connecticut were divers, but the ground of all was their ſickneſs of coming under our government, which tho' we never intended to make them ſubordinate to us, yet they were very jealous, and therefore in the articles of confederation which we propounded to them, and whereby order was taken that all differences which might fall out ſhould be ended by way of peace, and never to come to a neceſſity or danger of force; they did ſo alter the chief article as all would have come to nothing. For whereas the article was, That upon any matter of difference, two, three or more commiſſioners of every of the confederate colonies ſhould aſſemble, and have abſolute power (the greater number of them) to determine the matter: they would have them only to meet, and if they could agree, ſo; if not

not then to report to their ſeveral colonies, and to return with their advice, and ſo to go on 'till the matter might be agreed, which beſides that it would have been infinitely tedious and extremely chargeable, it would never have attained the end, for it was very unlikely that all the churches in all the plantations would ever have accorded upon the ſame propoſitions. 1638. Mo. 10.

Theſe articles with their alterations, they ſent to our general court at Newtown the of the 5th. by Mr. Haynes, Mr. Pincheon and Jo: Steele. The court finding their alteration, and the inconveniences thereof, would take the like liberty to add and alter (for the articles were drawn only by ſome of the council and never allowed by the court.) This they excepted againſt, and would have reſtrained us of that liberty which they took themſelves: and one of their three commiſſioners falling in debate with ſome of our deputies, ſaid that they would not meddle with any thing that was within our limits; which being reported to the court, they thought it ſeaſonable we ſhould ſtand upon our right, ſo as tho' we were formerly willing that Agawam (now Springfield) ſhould have fallen into their government, yet ſeeing they would not be beholden to us for any thing, we intended to keep it, and accordingly we put it in as an article that the line between us ſhould be one way the Pequod river, viz. South and North, and the other way, viz. E. and W. the limits of our own grant. And this article we added, That we ſhould have liberty to paſs to and fro upon Conecticut, and they likewiſe. To theſe articles all their commiſſioners offered to conſent, but it was thought by our court (becauſe of the new articles) that they ſhould firſt acquaint their own court with it, and ſo their Commiſſioners departed.

After this we underſtood that they went on to exerciſe their authority at Agawam; whereupon the Governor wrote to him to deſire them to forbear untill the line were laid out, with advice about ſome other things, as by the copy of the letter appears. After a long time Mr. Ludlow, in the name of their court, returned anſwer, which was very harſh—in fine declared that they thought it not fit to treat any further before they had advice from the gentlemen of Say brook &c. The Governor acquainted the council and magiſtrates with this letter; and becauſe they had tied our hands, in a manner, from replying, he wrote a private letter to Mr. Haynes, where-

1638. Mo. 10. in he lays open their miſtakes (as he called them) and the apparent cauſes of offence which they had given us; as by diſinclining the Naraganſetts to be bound by our former agreement with them (which they would never make ſure of 'till the wars were ended) by making a treaty of agreement with the Naraganſetts and the Monhegans, without joining us, or mentioning us to that end, tho' we had by letter given them liberty to take us in, and by binding all the indians who had received any Pequods, to pay tribute for them all to them of Connecticut &c. All theſe things are clearly to be ſeen in the letters.

15 The wind at N.E. there was ſo great a tempeſt of wind and ſnow all the night, and the next day, as had not been ſince our time. Five men and youths periſhed between Mattapam and Dorcheſter, and a man and a woman between Boſton and Roxbury. Arthur Dick in a bark of 30 tons caſt away upon the head of Cape Cod. Three were ſtarved to death with the cold, the other two got ſome fire and ſo lived there by ſuch food as they ſaved. 7 weeks, 'till an indian found them. Two veſſels bound for Quinipiack were caſt away at Aquiday, but the people ſaved. Much other harm was done in ſtaving of boats &c. and by the great tides which exceeded all before. This happened the day after a general faſt, which occaſioned ſome of our miniſters to ſtir us up to ſeek the Lord better, becauſe he ſeemed to diſcountenance the means of our reconciliation. Whereupon the next general court, by advice of the elders, agreed to keep another day, and to ſeek further into the cauſes of ſuch diſpleaſure &c. which accordingly was performed.

Mo.11.14 The earthquake which had continued at times ſince the 1ſt. of the 4th. was more generally felt, and the ſame noiſe heard in many places.

30 A church was gathered at Weymouth with approbation of the magiſtrates and elders. It is obſerveable this church having been gathered before, and ſo that of Linne, could not hold together, nor could have any elders join or hold with them. The reaſon appeared to be becauſe they did not begin according to the rule of the goſpel, which when Linne had found and humbled themſelves for it, and began again upon a new foundation, they went on with a bleſſing.

The people of this town of Weymouth had invited one Mr. Leathall to come to them, with intention to call him to be their miniſter. This man tho' of good report in Eng-

England, coming hither, was found to have drank in ſome of Mrs. Hutchinſon's opinions, as of juſtification before faith &c. and oppoſed the gathering of our churches in ſuch a way of mutual ſtipulation as was practiſed among us. From the former he was ſoon taken off upon conference with Mr. Cotton, but he ſtuck cloſe to the other, that only baptiſm was the door of entrance into the church &c. ſo as the common ſort of people did eagerly embrace his opinions, and ſome laboured to get ſuch a church on foot as all baptized ones might communicate in without any further trial of them &c. For this end they procured many hands in Weymouth to a blank, intending to have Mr. Leathall's advice to the form of their call, and he likewiſe was very forward to become a miniſter to them in ſuch a way, and did openly maintain the cauſe; but the magiſtrates hearing of this diſturbance and combination thought it needful to ſtop it betimes, and ſo they called Mr. Leathall, and ſome of the chief of the faction to the next general court in the 1ſt Month, where Mr. Leathall, having before conferred with ſome of the magiſtrates and of the elders, and being convinced both of his error in judgment, and of his ſin in practice the diſturbance of our peace &c. did openly and freely retract, with expreſſion of much grief of heart for his offence, and did deliver his retraction in writing under his hand in the open court. Whereupon he was injoined to appear at the next court, and in the mean time to make and deliver the like recantation in ſome public aſſembly at Weymouth. So the court ſtopped for any further cenſure by fine or &c. though it was much urged by ſome. 1638. Mo. 11.

At the ſame court one Smith was convicted and fined twenty pounds for being a chief ſtirrer in the buſineſs, and one Silveſter was disfranchiſed, and one Britton who had ſpoken reproachfully of the anſwer which was ſent out to Mr. Barnard his book againſt our church covenant and of ſome of our elders, and had ſided with Mr. Leathall &c. was openly whipped, becauſe he had no eſtate to anſwer.

A printing houſe was begun at Cambridge by one Daye at the charge of Mr Glover who died on ſea hitherward. The firſt thing which was printed was the freeman's oath, the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr. Peirce, mariner—the next was the pſalms newly turned into metre. Mo. 1.

An-

1639. Mo. 1. Another plantation was began upon the N. ſide of Merrimack, called Sariſbury—another at Winicowett called Hampton, which gave occaſion of ſore difference between us and ſome of Piſcat; which grew thus. Mr. Wheelwright being baniſhed from us gathered a company and ſat down by the falls of Piſcat: and called their town Exeter, and for their enlargement they dealt with an indian there, and bought of him Winicowett, and then wrote to us what they had done, and that they intended to lot out all theſe lands in farms, except we could ſhew a better title. They wrote alſo to thoſe whom we had ſent to plant Winicowett to have them deſiſt &c. Theſe letters coming to the General Court, they returned anſwer, that they looked at this their dealing as againſt good neighbourhood, religion and common honeſty—that knowing we claimed Winicowett as within our patent, or as *vacuum domicilium*, and had taken poſſeſſion thereof by building an houſe there above two years ſince, they ſhould now go and purchaſe an unknown title and then come to deny of our right. It was in the ſame letter alſo manifeſtly proved, that the indians having only a natural right to ſo much land as they had or could improve, ſo as the reſt of the country lay open to any that could and would improve it, as by ſaid letter more at large doth appear.

In this year one James Everett a ſober, diſcreet man, and two others ſaw a great light in the night at Muddy River; when it ſtood ſtill it flamed up, and was about three yards ſquare, when it ran it was contracted into the figure of a ſwine, it ran as ſwift as an arrow towards Charleſtown, and ſo up and down about 2 or 3 hours. They were come down in their lighter about a mile, and when it was over they found themſelves carried quite back againſt the tide to the place they came from. Divers other credible perſons ſaw the ſame light after about the ſame place.

The General Court in the 7th Mo. laſt gave order to the Governor to write to them of Piſcat: to ſignify to them that we looked at it as an unneighbourly part that they ſhould encourage and advance ſuch as we had caſt out from us for their offences, before they had inquired of us the cauſe. The occaſion of this letter was that they had aided Mr. Wheelwright to begin a plantation there, and intended to make Capt. Underhill their Governor in the room of Mr. Burdett, who had thruſt out Capt. Wiggin

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1639. Mo. 1. Piſcat: ſuppoſing that ſomething would appear in them either to extenuate his fault or to lay blame upon the Governor, but he failed in both, for the Governor was able to make good what he had written.

16 There was ſo violent a wind at S.S.E. and S. as the like was not ſince we came into this land. It began in the evening and increaſed 'till midnight; it overturned ſome new ſtrong houſes, but the Lord miraculouſly preſerved old weak cottages. It tare down fences—people came out of their houſes in the night. There came ſuch a rain withal, as raiſed the waters at Connecticut 20 feet above their meadows.

The indians near Aquiday being pawwawing in this tempeſt, the Devil came and fetched away five of them. Query.

At Providence things grew ſtill worſe for a ſiſter of Mrs. Hutchinſon, the wife of one Scott being infected with Anabaptiſtry, and going laſt year to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken or rather emboldened by her to make open profeſſion thereof, and accordingly was rebaptiſed by one Holyman a poor man late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptiſed him and ſome ten more. They alſo denied the baptiſing of infants, and would have no magiſtrates.

At Aquiday alſo Mrs. Hutchinſon exerciſed publickly, and ſhe and her party, ſome three or four families, would have no magiſtracy. She ſent alſo an admonition to the church of Boſton, but the elders would not read it publickly, becauſe ſhe was excommunicated. By theſe examples we may ſee how dangerous it is to ſlight the cenſures of the church, for it was apparent that God had given them up to ſtrong deluſions. Thoſe of Aquiday alſo had entertained two men whom the church of Roxbury had excommunicated, and one of them did exerciſe publickly there. For this the church of Boſton called in queſtion ſuch of them as were yet their members, and Mr. Coddington being preſent; not freely acknowledging his ſin, tho he confeſſed himſelf in ſome fault, was ſolemnly admoniſhed.

This is further to be obſerved in the deluſions which this people were taken with. Mrs. Hutchinſon and ſome of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the earthquake was at Aquiday &c. and the houſe being ſhaken thereby, they were purſuaded and boaſted of it, that the

the Holy Ghoſt did ſhake it in coming down upon them, as he did upon the apoſtles. 1639.

A plantation was began between Ipſwich and Newbury; the occaſion was this. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport having determined to ſit down at Quinipiack, there came over one Ez. Rogers, ſecond ſon of that truly faithful ſervant of God, Mr. Richard Rogers of Wetherſfield in England, and with him ſome 20 families, godly men, and moſt of them of good eſtate. This Mr. Rogers being a man of ſpecial note in England for his zeal, piety, and other parts, they laboured by all means to draw him to Quinipiack, and had ſo far prevailed with him (being newly come, and unacquainted with the ſtate of the country) as they had engaged him, yet being a very wiſe man, and conſidering that many of quality in England did depend upon his choice of a fit place for them, he agreed upon ſuch propoſals and cautions, as tho' they promiſed to fulfill them all (whereupon he ſent divers of his people thither before winter) yet when it came to they were not able to make good what they had promiſed. Whereupon he conſulted with the elders of the Bay, and by their advice &c. holding his former engagement releaſed, he and his people took that place by Ipſwich and becauſe ſome farms had been granted by Ipſwich and Newbury, which would be prejudicial to their plantation, they bought out the owners, diſburſing therein about £800—and he ſent a pinnace to Quinipiack to fetch back the reſt of his people; but Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport and others of Connecticut being impatient of the loſs of him and his people, ſtaid the pinnace and ſent a meſſenger with letters of purpoſe to recover him again. This made him to deſire the elders to aſſemble again, and he ſhewed them the letters they ſent, which wanted no arguments, tho' ſome truth, but he made the caſe ſo clear by letter which had paſſed between them &c. as they held him ſtill free from all engagement, and ſo he returned anſwer to them and went on with his plantation. Mo. 2.

The indians of Block Iſland ſent for their tribute this year, ten fathom of Wampompeague.

One Mr. Howe of Linne a godly man and deputy of the laſt General Court, after the court was ended, and he had dined, being in health as he uſed to be, went to paſs over to Charleſtown, and being alone, he was preſently after found dead upon the ſtrand, being there, as it ſeemed waiting for the boat which came ſoon after.

Mr.

1639. Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8. of Kings 8. taught,
Mo. 3. 2 that when magiſtrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of miniſters, then the churches are in a declining condition: there he ſhewed that the miniſters maintenance ſhould be by voluntary contribution, not by lands or revenues or tithes &c. for theſe things had always been accompanied with pride, contention and ſloth.

11 The two chief ſachems of Naraganſett ſent the Governor a preſent of 30 fathom of Wampom, and Sequin the ſachem of Connecticut ſent 10 fathom.

At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magiſtrates, and choſe Mr. William Hutchinſon only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and ſtill continued to breed diſturbance. They alſo gathered a church in a very diſorderly way, for they took ſome excommunicated perſons, and others who were members of the church of Boſton and not diſmiſſed.

The two regiments in the bay were muſtered at Boſton to the number of one thouſand ſoldiers, able men and well armed and exerciſed. They were headed, the one by the Governor who was General of all, and the other by the Deputy who was Colonel. The captains &c. ſhewed themſelves very ſkilful and ready in divers ſorts of ſkirmiſhes and other military actions, wherein they ſpent the whole day.

One of Piſcat: having opportunity to go into Mr. Burdet his ſtudy, and finding there the copy of his letter to the archbiſhops, ſent it to the Governor, which was to this effect.—That he did delay to go into England, becauſe he would fully inform himſelf of the ſtate of the people here in regard of allegiance, and that it was not diſcipline that was now ſo much aimed at as ſovereignty, and that it was accounted piracy and treaſon in our General Court to ſpeak of appeals to the King.

The firſt ſhips which came this year brought him letters from the archbiſhops and the lords commiſſioners for plantations, wherein they gave him thanks for his care of his Majeſty's ſervice &c. and that they would take a time to redreſs ſuch diſorders as he had informed them of: but by reaſon of the much buſineſs which now lay upon them they could not at preſent accompliſh his deſire.

Theſe

These letters lay above fourteen days in the Bay, and some moved the Governor to open them, but himself and others of the council thought it not safe to meddle with them, nor would take any notice of them, and it fell out well by God's good providence, for the letters, by some means, were opened, yet without any of their privity or consent, and Mr. Burdett threated to complain of it to the Lords; and afterwards we had knowledge of the contents of them by some of his own friends. 1639. Mo. 3.

The Governor received letters from Mr. Cradock, and in them an other order from the lords commissioners, to this effect—That whereas they had received our petition upon their former order &c. by which they perceived that we were taken with some jealousies and fears of their intentions &c. they did accept of our answer, and did now declare their intentions to be only to regulate all plantations to be subordinate to the said commission, and that they meant to continue our liberties, and therefore did now again peremptorily require the Governor to send them our patent by the first ship, and that in the meantime they did give us by that order full power to go on in the government of the people, untill we had a new patent sent us; and withal they added threats of further course to be taken with us if we failed.

This order being imparted to the next General Court, some advised to return answer to it—others thought fitter to make no answer at all, because being sent in a private letter, and not delivered by a certain messenger as the former order was, they could not proceed upon it, because they could not have any proof that it was delivered to the Governor, seeing his master had not laid any charge upon him to that end.

Mr. Haynes the Governor of Connecticut and Mr. Hooker &c. came into the Bay, and staid near a month. It appeared by them that they were desirous to renew the treaty of confederation with us, and though themselves would not move it, yet by their means it was moved by our General Court and accepted, for they were in some doubt of the Dutch who had lately received a new Governor, a more discreet and sober man than the former, and one who did complain much of the injury done to them at Connecticut, and was very forward to hold correspondency with us, and very inquisitive how things stood between us and them of Connecticut, which occa-

1639. Mo. 3. 22

ſioned us the more readily to renew the former treaty, that the Dutch might not take notice of any breach or alienation between us.

The Court of Elections was, at which time there was a ſmall eclipſe of the ſun. Mr. Winthrop was choſen Governor again, tho' ſome labouring had been by ſome of the elders to have changed, not out of any diſlike of him, for they all loved and eſteemed him, but out of their fear leſt it might make way for having a Governor for life, which ſome had propounded as moſt agreeable to God's inſtitution and the practice of all well ordered ſtates. But neither the Governor nor any other attempted the thing, tho' ſome jealouſies aroſe which were increaſed by two occaſions. The firſt was, there being want of aſſiſtants, the Governor and other magiſtrates thought fit in the warrant for the court, to propound three, amongſt which Mr. Downing the Governor's brother in law was one, which they conceived to be done to ſtrengthen his party, and therefore, tho' he were known to be a very able man, and one who had done many good offices for the country for theſe ten years, yet the people would not chooſe him. Another occaſion of their jealouſy was—The court finding the number of deputies to be much increaſed by the addition of new plantations, thought fit, for the eaſe both of the country and the court, to reduce all towns to two deputies. This occaſioned ſome to fear that the magiſtrates intended to make themſelves ſtronger, and the deputies weaker, and ſo in time to bring all power into the hands of the magiſtrates, ſo as the people in ſome towns were much diſpleaſed with their deputies for yielding to ſuch an order: Whereupon at the next ſeſſion it was propounded to have the number of deputies reſtored, and allegations were made that it was an infringement of their liberty, ſo as after much debate and ſuch reaſons given for diminiſhing the number of deputies, and clearly proved that their liberty conſiſted not in the number, but in the thing, divers of the deputies who came with intent to reverſe the laſt order, were by force of reaſon, brought to uphold it; ſo that when it was put to the vote, the laſt order for two deputies only was confirmed, yet the next day a petition was brought to the court from the freemen of Roxbury to have the three deputies reſtored, whereupon the reaſons of the court's proceedings were ſet down in writing, and all objections anſwered and ſent to ſuch towns as were

diſ-

diſſatisfied, with this advice, that if any could take away thoſe reaſons, or bring us better for what they did deſire, we ſhould be ready at the next court to repeal the ſaid order. 1639. Mo. 3.

The hands of ſome of the elders, learned and godly men, were to this petition, tho ſuddenly drawn in, and without due conſideration, for the lawfulneſs of it may well be queſtioned: for when the people have choſen men to be their rulers and to make their laws, and bound themſelves by oath to ſubmit thereto, now to combine together (a leſſer part of them) in a public petition to have any order repealed which is not repugnant to the law of God, ſavours of reſiſting an ordinance of God, for the people having deputed others, have no power to make or alter laws, but are to be ſubject; and if any ſuch order ſeem unlawful or inconvenient, they had better prefer ſome reaſons to the court with manifeſtation of their deſire to move them to a review, than peremptorily to petition to have it repealed, which amounts to a plain reproof of thoſe whom God hath ſet over them, and putting diſhonor upon them againſt the tenor of the fifth commandment.

There fell out at this court another occaſion of increaſing the people's jealouſy of their magiſtrates, viz. One of the elders being preſent with thoſe of his church when they were to prepare their votes for the election, declared his judgment that a Governor ought to be for his life, alledging for his authority the practice of all the beſt commonwealths in Europe, and eſpecially that of Iſrael by God's own ordinance, but this was oppoſed by ſome other of the elders with much zeal, and ſo notice was taken of it by the people, not as a matter of diſpute, but as if there had been ſome plot to put it in practice, which did occaſion the deputies at the next ſeſſion of this court to deliver in an order drawn to this effect.—That whereas our ſovereign Lord King Charles, had by his patent eſtabliſhed a Governor, Deputy and Aſſiſtants, that therefore no perſon choſen a counſeller ſhould have any authority as magiſtrate, except he were choſen in the annual elections to one of the ſaid places of mgiſtracy eſtabliſhed by the ſaid patent. This being thus bluntly tendred (no mention being made thereof before) the Governor took time to conſider of it before he would put it to vote; ſo when the court was riſen, the magiſtrates adviſed of it

and

1639. and drew up another order to this effect.—That whereas
at the court in it was ordered that a certain num-
Mo. 3. ber of magiſtrates ſhould be choſen to be a ſtanding council for life &c. whereupon ſome had gathered that we had erected a new order of magiſtrates not warranted by our patent—this court doth therefore declare that the intent of the ſaid order was, that the ſaid ſtanding council ſhould always be choſen out of the magiſtrates &c. and therefore it is now ordered that no ſuch counſellor ſhall have any power as a magiſtrate, or ſhall do any act as a magiſtrate &c. except he be annually choſen according to the patent; and this order was after paſſed by vote. That which led thoſe of the council to yield to this deſire of the deputies was, becauſe it concerned themſelves, and they did more ſtudy to remove thoſe jealouſies out of the people's heads, than to preſerve any power or dignity to themſelves above others, for 'till this court thoſe of the council, viz. Mr. Endicott, had ſtood and executed as a magiſtrate without any annual election, and ſo they had been reported by the elders and all the people 'till this preſent. But the order was drawn up in this form that it might be of leſs obſervation, and freeer from any note of injury to make this alteration rather by way of explanation of the fundamental order, than without any cauſe ſhewn to repeal that which had been eſtabliſhed by ſerious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years without any inconvenience. And here may be obſerved how ſtrictly the people would ſeem to ſtick to their patent where they think it makes for their advantage, but are content to decline it where it will not warrant ſuch liberties as they have taken up without warrant from thence, as appears in their ſtrife for three deputies &c. whereas the patent allows them none at all, but only by inference, voting by proxies &c.

The Governor acquainted the General Court that in theſe two laſt years of his government he had received from the indians in preſents, to the value of about £40. and that he had ſpent about £20. in entertainment of them and in preſents to their Sachems &c. The court declared that the preſents were the Governor's due, but the tribute was to be paid to the treaſurer.

Mo. 4. 15 Mr. Endicott and Mr. Stoughton, commiſſioners for us, and Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winſlow for Plimouth, met at Hingham about deciding the difference between us concerning bounds. Our comiſſioners had full power to

to determine &c. but theirs had not, altho' they had notice of it long before, and themſelves had appointed the day: Whereupon the court ordered that thoſe of Hingham ſhould make uſe of all the lands near Conyhaſſett to the crook next Scituate 'till the court ſhould take further order; and a letter was directed to the Governor at Plimouth to the ſame effect, with declaration of the reaſons of our proceeding, and readineſs to give them a further meeting. The charges of their commiſſioners diet were defrayed by us, becauſe they met us within our own juriſdiction. 1639. Mo. 4.

Thoſe of Exeter replied to our anſwer, ſtanding ſtill to maintain the indians' right and their intereſt thereby. But in the mean time we had ſent men to diſcover Merrimack, and found ſome part of it about Penkook to lie more northerly than 43½. We returned anſwer to them, that tho' we would not relinquiſh our intereſt by priority of poſſeſſion for any right they could have from the indians, yet ſeeing they had profeſſed not to claim any thing which ſhould fall within our patent, we would look no further than that in reſpect of their claim.

One Mr. Ryall having gotten a patent at Sagadahoc out of the grand patent, wrote to our Governor and tendered it to our government, ſo as we would ſend people to poſſeſs it. The Governor acquainted the general court with it, but nothing was done about it, for we were not ready for ſuch a buſineſs, having enough beſides at home.

Mr. Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the Governor and many others went to hear him (tho' the Governor did very ſeldom go from his own congregation upon the Lord's day.) He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on with much ſtrength of voice and intention of ſpirit about a quarter of an hour, he was at a ſtand, and told the people that God had deprived him both of his ſtrength and matter &c. and ſo went forth, and about half an hour after returned again and went on to very good purpoſe about two hours. 26

There was at this time a very great dearth all over the country both eaſt and weſt, there being little or no rain from the 26th of the 2d month to the 10th of the 4th, ſo as the corn generally began to wither, and great fear there was it would all be loſt. Whereupon the general court conferred with the elders, and agreed upon a day of humiliation about a weak after. The very day after the faſt

1639. Mo. 4. ſtaſt was appointed there fell a good ſhower, and within one week after the day of humiliation was paſt we had ſuch ſtore of rain, and ſo ſeaſonably, as the corn revived and gave hope of a very plentiful harveſt. When the court and the elders were met about it, they conferred of ſuch things as were amiſs which might provoke God againſt us, and agreed to acquaint their churches therewith that they might be ſtirred up to bewail and reform them.

We were much afraid this year of a ſtep in England by reaſon of the complaints which had been ſent againſt us, and the great diſpleaſure which the archbiſhops, and other the commiſſioners for plantations had conceived and uttered againſt us both for thoſe complaints, and alſo for our not ſending home our patent. But the Lord wrought for us beyond all expectation, for the petition which we returned in anſwer of the order ſent for our patent was read before the lords aud well accepted, as is before expreſſed; and ſhips came to us from England and divers other parts with great ſtore of people and proviſions of all ſorts.

About this time our people came from Iſle Sable; a bark went for them the 2d of the 1ſt month, but by foul weather ſhe was wrecked there, and of her ruins they made a ſmall one wherein they returned. It was found to be a great error to ſend thither before the middle of the 2d month. They had gotten ſtore of ſeal, oil and ſkins, and ſome horſe teeth and black fox ſkins: but the loſs of the veſſel &c. overthrew the hope of the deſign. The iſland is very healthful and temperate. We loſt not one man in two years, nor any ſick &c.

Mo. 5. The rent at Connecticut grew greater notwithſtanding the great pains we had been taking for healing it, ſo as the Church of Weathersfield itſelf was not only divided from the reſt of the town &c. but of thoſe ſeven which were the church, four fell off, ſo as it was conceived that thereby the church was diſſolved, which occaſioned the church of Watertown here (which had divers of her members there not yet diſmiſſed) to ſend two of their church to look after their members, and to take order with them. But the contention and alienation of minds was ſuch as they could not bring them to any other accord than this, that the one party muſt remove to ſome other place, which they both conſented to, but ſtill the difficulty remained, for thoſe three who pretended themſelves to

to be the church pleaded that privilege for their ſtay, and the others alledged their multitude &c. ſo as neither would give place, whereby it ſeemed, that either they minded not the example of Abraham's offer to Lot, or elſe they wanted Abraham's ſpirit of peace and love. 1639. Mo. 5.

This controverſy having called in Mr. Davenport and others of Quilipiack, for mediation, and they not according with thoſe of Connecticut about the caſe, gave advantage to ſatan to ſtraw ſome ſeeds of contention between thoſe plantations alſo, but being godly and wiſe men on both parts, things were eaſily reconciled.

In this month there arrived two ſhips of Quilipiack, one was of 350 tons, wherein came Mr. Fenwick and his lady and family to make a plantation at Saybrook upon the mouth of Connecticut. Two other plantations were began beyond Quilipiack, and every plantation intended a peculiar government.

There were alſo divers new plantations begun this ſummer here and at Plimouth—as Colcheſter upon Merrimack—Sudbury by Concord—(Winicowett was named Hampton)—Yarmouth and Barnſtaple by Cape Cod.

Capt. Underhill having been dealt with and convinced of his great ſin againſt God and the churches and ſtate here &c. returned to a better mind, and wrote divers letters to the Governor and Deputy &c. bewailing his offences, and craving pardon. See after.

There was ſent to the Governor a copy of a letter written into England by Mr. Hanyard Knolles of Piſcat; wherein he had moſt falſly ſlandered this government, as that it was worſe than the *high commiſſion* &c. and that here was nothing but oppreſſion, and not ſo much as a face of religion. The Governor acquaintcd one of Piſcat: Mr. Knolles his ſpecial friend with it, whereupon Mr. Knolles became very much perplexed, and wrote to the Governor acknowleding the wrong he had done us, and deſired that his retraction might be publiſhed. The Governor ſent his letter into England and kept a copy of it. See more of this after.

At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company a ſome months ſince were in all haſte rebaptized and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to queſtion his ſecond baptiſm, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apoſtles, otherwiſe than by the miniſters of England (whom he judged to be ill authority) ſo as he conceived

God

1639. God would raiſe up ſome apoſtolic power, therefore he bent himſelf that way, expecting (as was ſuppoſed) to become an apoſtle, and having no title before, refuſed communion with all ſave his own wife—now he would preach and pray with all comers: whereupon ſome of his followers left him and returned back from whence they went.

Mo. 5.

6. 27. There came a ſmall bark from the W. Indies, one Capt. Sackett in her with commiſſion from the Weſtminſter company to take prizes from the Spaniards. He brought much wealth in money, plate, indigo and ſugar. He ſold his indigo and ſugar here for £1400. whereby he furniſhed himſelf with commodities and departed again for the W. Indies.

A fiſhing trade was began at Cape Anne by one Mr. Maverick Tomſon a merchant of London, and an order was made that all ſtocks employed in fiſhing ſhould be free from public charge for ſeven years. This was not done to encourage foreigners to ſet up fiſhing among us, for all the gains would be returned to the place where they dwelt, but to encourage our own people to ſet upon it, and in expectation that Mr. Tomſon &c. would e're long come ſettle with us.

Here was ſuch ſtore of exceeding large and fat mackrell upon our coaſt this ſeaſon as was a great benefit to all our plantations. Some one boat with three men would take in a week ten hundreds, which was ſold at Connecticut for £3. 12 the hundred.

There were ſuch ſwarms of ſmall flies like moths came from the ſouthward that they covered the ſea, and came flying like drifts of ſnow, but none of them were ſeen upon the land.

Mo. 4. At the general court at Boſton one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton brother to the magiſtrate at Quilipiack, was convented and cenſured. The occaſion was this. He was a ſchoolmaſter and had many ſcholars the ſons of gentlemen and others of beſt note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briſtoe, a gentleman born, to be his uſher, and to do ſome other things for him which might not be unfit for a ſcholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very ſmall occaſion, and with reproachful terms diſcharged him, and turned him out of his doors: but it being then about 8 of the clock after the ſabbath, he told him he ſhould ſtay 'till next morning, and ſome words growing be-

between them, he ſtruck him and pulled him into his houſe; Briſtoe defended himſelf and cloſed with him, and being parted he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton ſent for the conſtable, who adviſed him firſt to admoniſh him &c. and if he could not by the power of a maſter reform him, then he ſhould complain to the magiſtrate. But he cauſed his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horſe, and a yard in length, and taking his two men with him, he went up to Briſtoe, and cauſed his men to hold him 'till he had given him two hundred ſtripes about the head and ſhoulders &c. and ſo kept him under blows, with ſome two or three ſhort intermiſſions, about the ſpace of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and ſome others of the town came in at the outcry, and ſo he gave over. In this diſtreſs Briſtoe got at his knife and ſtruck at the man that held him, but hurt him not: he alſo fell to prayer, ſuppoſing he ſhould have been murdered, and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain. After this Mr. Eaton and Mr. Sh: who knew not then of theſe paſſages, came to the Governor and ſome other of the magiſtrates, and complaining of Briſtoe for his inſolent ſpeech, and for crying out murder and drawing his knife, and deſired that he might be enjoined to a public acknowledgment &c. The magiſtrates anſwered that they muſt firſt hear him ſpeak, and then they would do as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Mr. Eaton was diſpleaſed at this and went away diſcontented, and being after called into the court to make anſwer to the information that had been given by ſome who knew the truth of the caſe, and alſo to anſwer for his neglect and cruelty and other ill uſage towards his ſcholars, one of the elders, not ſuſpecting ſuch miſcarriages by him, came to the Governor and ſhewed himſelf much grieved that he ſhould be publickly produced, alledging that it would derogate from his authority and reverence among his ſcholars &c. but the cauſe went on notwithſtanding, and he was called, and theſe things laid to his charge in the open court. His anſwers were full of pride and diſdain, telling the magiſtrates that they ſhould not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being aſked why he uſed ſuch cruelty to Briſtoe his uſher, and to other his ſcholars (for it was teſtified by an other of his uſhers and divers of his ſcholars that he

1639. Mo. 4.

1639. Mo. 4. would give them between twenty and thirty ſtripes at a time, and would not leave 'till they had confeſſed what he required) his anſwer was that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting 'till he had ſubdued the party to his will. Being alſo queſtioned about the ill and ſcant diet of his boarders (for tho' their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely) he put it off to his wife: ſo the court diſmiſſed him at preſent and commanded him to attend the next day. When being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the table (where all offenders uſually ſtand) and being openly convict of all the former offences by the oaths of four or five witneſſes, he yet continued to juſtify himſelf, ſo it being near night he was committed to the marſhall 'till the next day. When the court was ſet in the morning, many of the elders came into the court (it being then private for matter of conſultation) and declared how the evening before they had taken pains with him to convince him of his fault, yet for divers hours he had ſtill ſtood to his juſtification, but in the end he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his ſin and that with tears, ſo as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore deſired of the court that he might be pardoned and continued in his employment, alledging ſuch further reaſons as they thought fit. After the elders were departed the court conſulted about it and ſent for him, and there in the open court, before a great aſſembly, he made a very ſolid, wiſe, eloquent and ſerious (ſeeming) confeſſion, condemning himſelf in all the particulars &c. Whereupon being put aſide, the court conſulted privately about his ſentence, and tho' many were taken with his confeſſion, and none but had a charitable opinion of it, yet becauſe of the ſcandal of religion, and offence which would be given to ſuch as might intend to ſend their children hither, they all agreed to cenſure him, and put him from that employment. So being called in, the Governor after a ſhort preface, declared the ſentence of the court to this effect, viz. that he ſhould give Briſtoe £30—fined 100 and debarred teaching of children within our juriſdiction. A pauſe being made, and expectation that according to his former confeſſion he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the juſtice and clemency of the court—the Governor giving him occaſion by aſking him if he had ought

to

to ſay—he turned away with a diſcontented look, ſaying, 1639.
"If ſentence be paſſed then it is to no end to ſpeak."
Yet the court remitted his fine to £20. and willed Briſtoe Mo. 4.
to take but £20.—

The church at Cambridge taking notice of theſe proceedings, intended to deal with him. The paſtor moved the Governor if they might, without offence to the court, examine other witneſſes; his anſwer was, that the court would leave them to their own liberty, but he ſaw not to what end they ſhould do it, ſeeing there had been five already upon oath, and thoſe whom they ſhould examine ſhould ſpeak without oath, and it was an ordinance of God that by the mouths of two or three witneſſes every matter ſhould be eſtabliſhed. But he ſoon diſcovered himſelf, for e'er the church could come to deal with him he fled to Piſcat: and being purſued and apprehended by the Governor there, he again acknowledged his great ſin in flying &c. and promiſed as he was a chriſtian man he would return with the meſſengers, but becauſe his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he deſired leave to go fetch them, which they aſſented unto, and went with him three of them, aboard with him: ſo he took his truſs and came away with them in the boat, but being come to the ſhore, and two of them going out of the boat, he cauſed the boatman to put off the boat, and becauſe the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water where he had been drowned if he had not ſaved himſelf by ſwimming, ſo he returned to the bark and preſently they ſet ſail and went out of the barbour. Being thus gone his creditors began to complain, and thereupon it was found that he was run in debt about £1000. and had taken up moſt of his money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no ſuch relation to: ſo his eſtate was ſeized and put into commiſſioners hands to be divided among his creditors, allowing ſomewhat for the preſent maintenance of his wife and children. And being thus gone the church proceeded and caſt him out. He had been ſome time initiated among the Jeſuits, and coming into England his friends drew him from them, but it was very probable he now intended to return to them again, being at this time about 30 years of age and upwards. See after.

Mount Woolaſton had been formerly laid to Boſton, 7. 17.
but

1639. but many poor men having lots aſſigned them there, and not able to uſe thoſe lands and dwell ſtill in Boſton, they petitioned the town firſt to have a miniſter there, & after to have leave to gather a church there, which the town at length, upon ſome ſmall compoſition, gave way unto: ſo this day they gathered a church after the uſual manner, and choſe one Mr. Tomſon a very gracious ſincere man, and Mr. Flint, a godly man alſo, their miniſters.

Mo. 9. At a general court holden at Boſton, great complaint was made of the great oppreſſion uſed in the country in ſale of foreign commodities, and Mr. Robert Kaine who kept a ſhop in Boſton, was notoriouſly above others obſerved and complained of, and being convented he was charged with many particulars. In ſome, for taking above ſix pence in the ſhilling profit; in ſome above eight pence, and ſome things above two for one, and being hereof convict (as appears by the records) he was fined £200—which came thus to paſs. The deputies conſidered a part of his fine and ſet it at £200.—the magiſtrates agreed but to £100—ſo the court being divided, at length it was agreed that his fine ſhould be £200. but he ſhould pay but £100. and the other ſhould be reſpited to the further conſideration of the next general court. By this means the magiſtrates and deputies were brought to an accord which otherwiſe had not been likely, and ſo much trouble might have grown, and the offenders eſcaped cenſure. For the cry of the country was ſo great againſt oppreſſion, and ſome of the elders and magiſtrates had declared ſuch deteſtation of the corrupt practice of this man (which was the more obſervable becauſe he was wealthy and ſold dearer than moſt other tradeſmen, and for that he was of ill report for the like covetous practice in England—that incenſed the deputies very much againſt him, and ſince the courſe was very evil, eſpecial circumſtances conſidered. 1. He being an ancient profeſſor of the goſpel. 2. A man of eminent parts. 3. Wealthy and having but one child. 4. Having come over for conſcience ſake, and for advancement of the goſpel here. 5. Having been formerly dealt with and admoniſhed both by private friends and alſo by ſome of the magiſtrates and elders, and having promiſed reformation; being a member of a church and commonwealth now in their infancy, and under the curious obſervation of all churches and civil ſtates in the world. Theſe added much aggravation to his ſin in the judgment of all men

of

of underſtanding, yet moſt of the magiſtrates tho' they diſcerned the offence clothed with all theſe circumſtances, would have been more moderate in the cenſure. 1. Becauſe there was no law in force to limit or direct men in point of profit in their trade. 2. Becauſe it is the common practice in all countries for men to make uſe of advantages for raiſing the prices of their commodities. 3. Becauſe tho' he were chiefly aimed at yet he was not alone in his fault. 4. Becauſe a certain rule could not be found out for an equal rate between buyer and ſeller tho' much labour had been beſtowed in it, and divers laws had been made, which upon experience were repealed, as being neither ſafe nor equal. Laſtly and eſpecially becauſe the law of God appoints no other puniſhment but two reſtitutions, and in ſome caſes, as where the offender freely confeſſeth and brings his offering, only half added to the principal. After the court had cenſured him the church of Boſton called him alſo in queſtion, where (as before he had done in the court) he did with tears acknowledge and bewail his covetous and corrupt heart, yet making ſome excuſe for many of the particulars which were charged upon him, as particularly by pretence of ignorance of the true price of ſome wares, and chiefly by being miſled by ſome falſe principles, as 1. That if a man loſt in one commodity he might help himſelf in the price of another. 2. That if thro' want of ſkill or otherwiſe his commodity coſt him more than the price of the market in England, he might then ſell it for more than the price of the market in N. England &c. Theſe things gave occaſion to Mr. Cotton in his public exerciſe the next lecture day to lay open the error of ſuch falſe principles and to give ſome rules of direction in the caſe. Some falſe principles were theſe. 1. That a man may ſell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can. 2. If a man loſe by caſualty at ſea &c. in ſome of his commodities, he may raiſe the price of the reſt. 3. That he may ſell as he bought tho' he paid too dear, and tho' the commodity be fallen &c. 4. That as a man may take the advantage of his own ſkill or ability, ſo he may of another's ignorance or neceſſity. 5. Where one gives time for payment he is to take like recompence of one as of another. 1639.

The rules for trading were theſe.

1. A man may not ſell above the current price (i.e.) ſuch a price as is uſual in the time and place, and as an-

1639. another who knows the worth of the commodity would give for it if he had occaſion to uſe it, as that is called current money which every man will take &c.

2. When a man loſeth in his commodity for want of ſkill he muſt look at it as his own fault or croſs, and therefore muſt not lay it upon another.

3. When a man loſeth by caſualty of ſea &c. it is a loſs caſt upon himſelf by providence, and he may not eaſe himſelf of it by caſting it upon another; for ſo a man ſhould ſeem to provide againſt all providences, that he ſhould never loſe; but where there is a ſcarcity of the commodity, there men may raiſe their price, for now it is a hand of God upon the commodity and not the perſon.

4. A man may not aſk any more for his commodity than his ſelling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much.

The cauſe being debated by the church ſome were earneſt to have him excommunicated, but the moſt thought an admonition would be ſufficient. Mr. Cotton opened the cauſes which required excommunication out of that in 1. Cor. 5. 11. the point now in queſtion was, whether theſe actions did declare him to be ſuch a covetous perſon &c. Upon which he ſhewed that it is neither the habit of covetouſneſs (which is in every man in ſome degree) nor ſimply the act that declares a man to be ſuch, but when it appears that a man ſins againſt his conſcience or the very light of nature, and when it appears in a man's whole converſation, but Mr. Kaine did not appear to be ſuch, but rather upon an error in his judgment, being led by falſe principles, and beſide he is otherwiſe liberal as in his hoſpitality and in church communion &c. ſo in the end the church conſented to an admonition.

Upon this occaſion a queſtion grew whether an admonition did bar a man from the ſacrament, and of this more ſhall be ſpoke hereafter.

Being now about church matters, I will here inſert another paſſage in the ſame church which fell out about the ſame time. Their old meeting houſe being decayed and too ſmall they ſold it away and agreed to build another, which workmen undertook to ſet up for £600. Three hundred pounds they had for the old, and the reſt was to be gathered by voluntary contributions, as other charges were, but there grew a great difference among the brethren where this new one ſhould ſtand. Some

were

were for the green (which was the Governor's firſt lot and he had yielded it to the church &c.) Others, viz. the tradeſmen, eſpecially who dwelt about the market place, deſired it might ſtand ſtill nearer the market, leſt in time it ſhould divert the chief trade from thence. The church referred it to the judgment and determination of five of the brethren, who agreed that the fitteſt place (all things conſidered) would be near the market, but underſtanding that many of the brethren were unſatisfied, and deſired rather it might be put to a lot—they declared only their opinions in writing and reſpited the full determination to another general meeting, thinking it very unſafe to proceed with the diſcontent of any conſiderable part of the church. When the church met, the matter was debated to and fro, and grew at length to ſome earneſtneſs, but after Mr. Cotton had cleared it up to them that the removing it to the green would be a damage to ſuch as dwelt by the market, who had there purchaſed and built at great charge, but it would be no damage to the moſt to have it by the market place, and tho' ſome remained ſtill in their opinion that the green were the fitter place, yet for peace ſake they yielded to the reſt by keeping ſilence while it paſſed. This good providence and over ruling hand of God cauſed much admiration and acknowledgment of ſpecial mercy to the church, eſpecially conſidering how long the like contention had held in ſome other churches, and which without difficulty they had been accorded. 1639. Mo. 7.

At the court of aſſiſtants one Marmaduke Perry of Salem was arraigned for the death of one his apprentice. The great inqueſt found the bill for murder; the jury of life and death could not agree, ſo they were adjourned to the next court, and Perry was let to bail by the Governor and ſome other of the magiſtrates, after the court. At the court in 10ber. the priſoner appeared, and the jury baing called, had further evidence given them which tended to the clearing of Perry, yet two of the jury diſſented from the reſt who were all agreed to acquit him. In the end it had this iſſue, that theſe two were ſilent and ſo the verdict was received. The cauſe was this. The boy was ill diſpoſed and his maſter gave him unreaſonable correction and uſed him ill in his diet. After the boy got a bruiſe on his head, ſo as there appeared a fracture in his ſcull, being diſſected after his death. Now two things were in the evidence which made the

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1639. caſe doubtful, one the boy his charging his maſter before his death to have given him that wound with his matyard and with a broomſtaff (for he ſpake of both at ſeveral times.) The other was that he had told another that his hurt came with the fall of a bough from a tree, and other evidence there was none.

(7) 4 At the general court the inhabitants of the upper part of Piſcat: viz. Dover &c. had written to the Governor to offer themſelves to come under our government. Anſwer was returned them, that if they ſent two or three of their company with full commiſſion under all their hands to conclude &c. it was like the court would agree to their propoſitions, and now at this court came three with commiſſion to agree upon certain articles annexed to their commiſſion, which being read, the court appointed three to treat with them, but their articles being not reaſonable, they ſtood not upon them but confeſſed that they had abſolute commiſſion to conclude by their diſcretion, whereupon the treaty was brought to a concluſion to this effect, That they ſhould fare as Ipſwich and Salem, and have courts there &c. as by copy of the agreement remaining with the records doth appear. This was ratified under a public ſeal and ſo delivered to them, only they deſired a promiſe from the court, that if the people did not aſſent to it (which yet they had no fear of) they might be at liberty, which was granted them.

Thoſe of Exeter ſent the like propoſitions to the court, but not liking, it ſeems, the agreement which thoſe of Dover had made, they repented themſelves and wrote to the court that they intended not to proceed.

At this court there fell out ſome conteſtation betwcen the Govetnor and the treaſurer. Nich: Trerice being defendant in a cauſe wherein Mr. Hibbins brother in law to the treaſurer was plaintiff for £500. which the ſearchers took from him in the ſhip whereof Trerice was maſter, and the defendant having anſwered upon oath to certain interrogatories miniſtered unto him, which were read to him before he took his oath, and the treaſurer preſſing him again with the ſame interrogatory, the Governor ſaid he had anſwered the ſame directly before. The treaſurer hereupon ſaid (angrily) Sir, I ſpeak not to you. The Governor replied, that time was very precious, and ſeeing the thing was already anſwered it was fit to proceed. Hereupon the treaſurer ſtood up, and ſaid if he might not have liberty to ſpeak he would no longer ſit there.

there. The Governor replied that it was his place to manage the proceedings of the court. The treaſurer then ſaid, you have no more to do in managing the buſineſs than I: at which the Governor took offence, as at an injury done to his place, and appealed to the court to declare whether he might not injoin any of the magiſtrates ſilence, if he ſaw cauſe. The Deputy Governor, at firſt apprehenſion, gainſaid it, but preſently both himſelf and the reſt of the magiſtrates (for the deputies were without ſtaying 'till the cauſe ſhould be ended) did agree that he might ſo do for a particular time, and if the party ſo enjoined ſilence were unſatisfied, he might appeal to the whole court, who might give him liberty to ſpeak, tho' the Governor had reſtrained him. So the Governor preſſed it no further, yet expected that the court would not have ſuffered ſuch a public affront to the Governor to have paſſed without due reproof &c. But nothing was done ſave only the ſecretary and ſome one other ſpake ſomewhat of their diſlike of it, neither did it occaſion any falling out between the Governor and the treaſurer, for the Governor held himſelf ſufficiently diſcharged after he had referred it to the conſideration of the court, ſo if they did not look at it as a public injury, he was willing to account of it accordingly. 1639.

There happened a memorable thing at Plimouth about this time. One Keyſar of Linne, being at Plimouth in his boat, and one Dickerſon with him, a profeſſor, but a notorious thief, was coming out of the harbour with the ebbe, and the wind ſoutherly a freſh gale, yet with all their ſkill and labour they could not in three hours get the boat above a league, ſo as they were forced to come to anchor, and at the flow to go back to the town, and as ſoon as they were come in the ſaid Dickerſon was arreſted upon ſuſpicion of a gold ring and ſome other pieces of gold which upon ſearch were found about him, and he was there whipped for it.

The like happened at Boſton about two years before. Schooler who was executed for murder, as before is mentioned, had broke priſon and was eſcaped beyond Winiſemett, but there he was taken with ſuch an aſtoniſhment &c. as he could go no further, but was forced to return to Boſton. Theſe and many other examples of diſcovering hypocrites and other lewd perſons, and bringing them under their deſerved puniſhments, do, among other things, ſhew the preſence and power of God in his ordi-

1639. nances, his bleſſing upon his people while they endeavour to walk before him with uprightneſs.

At Kennebeck the indians wanted food, and there being ſtore in the Plimouth trading houſe, they conſpired to kill the Engliſh there for their proviſion, and ſome indians coming into the houſe, Mr. Willet the maſter of the houſe being reading in the bible, his countenance was more ſolemn than at other times, ſo as he did not look chearfully upon them as he was wont to do—whereupon they went out and told their fellows that their purpoſe was diſcovered. They aſked them how it could be, the others told them that they knew it by Mr. Willet's countenance, and that he had diſcovered it by a book that he was reading, whereupon they gave over their deſign.

The people had long deſired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unſafe while ſo much power reſted in the diſcretion of magiſtrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to ſome of the magiſtrates and ſome of the elders, but ſtill it came to no effect, for being committed to the care of many, whatſoever was done by ſome, was ſtill diſliked or neglected by others. At laſt it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde &c. and each of them framed a model which were preſented to this general court, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy and ſome others to conſider of, and ſo prepare it for the court in the 3d month next. Two great reaſons there were which cauſed moſt of the magiſtrates and ſome of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was want of ſufficient experience of the nature and diſpoſition of the people conſidered with the condition of the country and other circumſtances, which made them conceive that ſuch laws would be fitteſt for us which ſhould ariſe *pro rei natura* upon occaſions &c. and ſo the laws of England and other ſtates grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called *cuſtos conſuetuſdinis*. 2. For that it would profeſſedly tranſgreſs the limits of our charter, which provide we ſhall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were aſſured we muſt do. But to raiſe up laws by practice and cuſtom had been no tranſgreſſion, as in our church diſcipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages ſhould not be ſolemnized by miniſters is repugnant to the laws of England, but to bring it to

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a cuſtom by practice for the magiſtrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant &c. At length, to ſatisfy the people, it proceeded, and the two models were digeſted with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviatad and ſent to every town to be conſidered of firſt by the magiſtrates and elders, and then to be publiſhed by the conſtables to all the people, that if any man ſhould think fit that any thing therein ought to be altered, he might acquaint ſome of the deputies therewith againſt the next court. 1639.

By this time there appeared a great change in the church of Boſton; for whereas the year before they were all, ſave five or ſix, ſo affected to Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinſon and theſe new opinions, as they perceived the preſent Governor and the paſtor looking at them as men under a covenant of works, and as their greateſt enemies, but they bearing all patiently, and not withdrawing themſelves (as they were ſtrongly ſollicited to have done) but carrying themſelves lovingly and helpfully upon all occaſions, the Lord brought about the hearts of all the people to love and eſteem them more than ever before, and all breeches were made up. and the church was ſaved from ruin beyond all expectation: which could hardly have been, in human reaſon, if theſe two had not been guided by the Lord to that moderation &c. and the church to manifeſt their hearty affection to the Governor upon occaſion of ſome ſtreight he was brought into thro' his bailiffs unfaithfulneſs, ſent him £200.

There was a church gathered at the Mount, and Mr. Tomſon, a very holy man, who had been an inſtrument of much good at Acomenticus, was ordained the paſtor the 19th of the 9th month.

At the general court an order was made to aboliſh that vain cuſtom of drinking one to another, and that upon theſe and other grounds. 1. It was a thing of no good uſe. 2. It was an inducement to drunkeneſs and occaſion of quarrelling and bloodſhed. 3. It occaſioned much waſte of wine and beer. 4. It was very troubleſome to many, eſpecially the maſters and miſtreſſes of the feaſt, who were forced thereby to drink more often than they would. Yet divers, even godly perſons, were very loth to part with this idle ceremony, tho' when diſputation was tendred, they had no life, nor indeed could find any arguments to mantain it, ſuch power hath cuſtom &c. Mo. 10.

Mr.

1639. Mr. Ez: Rogers, of whoſe gathering a church in England, mention was made before, being now ſettled with his company at Roxbury, was there ordained paſtor.

3 There were ſo many lectures now in the country, and many poor perſons would uſually reſort to two or three in the week, to the great neglect of their affairs, and damage of the public. The aſſemblies were alſo in divers churches held 'till night, and ſometimes within the night, ſo as ſuch as dwelt far off could not get home in due ſeaſon, and many weak bodies could not endure ſo long in the extremity of the heat or cold, without great trouble and hazard of their health. Whereupon the general court ordered, that the elders ſhould be deſired to give a meeting to the magiſtrates and deputies to conſider about the length and frequency of church aſſemblies, and to make return to the court of their determinations &c. This was taken in ill part by moſt of the elders and other of the churches, ſo as that thoſe who ſhould have met at Salem, did not meet, and thoſe in the bay, when they met with the magiſtrates &c. at Boſton, expreſſed much diſlike of ſuch a courſe, alledging their tenderneſs of the church's liberties, as if ſuch a precedent might enthrall them to the civil power, and as if it would caſt a blemiſh upon the elders, which would remain to poſterity, that they ſhould need to be regulated by the civil magiſtrates, and alſo raiſe an ill ſavor of the people's coldneſs that would complain of much preaching &c.—when as liberty for the ordinances was the main end (propoſed) of our coming hither. To which it was anſwered. 1. That the order was framed with as much tenderneſs and reſpect as might be, in general words, without mentioning ſermons or lectures, ſo as it might as well be taken for meetings upon other occaſions of the churches, which were known to be very frequent. 2. It carried no command, but only an expreſſion of a deſire. 3. I concluded nothing but only to confer and conſider. 4. The record of ſuch an order will rather be an argument of the zeal and forwardneſs of the elders and churches as it was of the Iſraelites when they offered ſo liberally to the ſervice of the tabernacle as Moſes was forced to reſtrain them. Upon this interpretation of the court's intent, the elders were reaſonably ſatisfied, and the magiſtrates finding how hardly ſuch propoſitions would be digeſted, and that if matters ſhould be further puſhed it might make ſome breach or diſturbance at leaſt, for the elders had

had great power in the people's hearts, which was needful to be upheld, left the people should break their bonds thro' abuse of liberty, which divers having forfeited were very forward to invite others to raise mutinies and foment dangerous and groundless jealousies of the magistrates &c. which the wisdom and care of the elders did still prevail against, and indeed the people themselves, generally, thro' the churches, were of that understanding and moderation, as they would easily be guided in their way by any rule from scripture or found reason. In this consideration the magistrates & deputies which were then met thought it not fit to enter any dispute or conference with the elders about the number of lectures or for appointing any certain time for the continuance of the assemblies, but rested satisfied with their affirmative answer to these two propositions. 1. That their church assemblies might ordinarily break up in such season as people that dwelt a mile or two off might get home by day light. 2. That if they were not satisfied in the declaration of our intentions in this order of court, that nothing was attempted herein against the church's liberties &c. they would truly acquaint us with the reasons of their unsatisfiedness, or if we heard not from them before the next court, we should take it for granted that they were fully satisfied. They desired that the order might be taken off the record, but for that it was answered that it might not be done without consent of the general court only, it was agreed unto that the secretary might defer to enter it in the book 'till the mind of the court might be known. 1639.

One Mr. Hanserd Knolles a minister in England who came over the last summer in the company of our familist: opinionists, so being suspected and examined, and found inclining that way, was denied residence in the Massachusetts, whereupon he went to Piscataqua where he began to preach, but Mr. Burdett being then their Governor and preacher, inhibited him, but he being after removed to Acomenticus, the people called Mr. Knolles, and in short time he gathered some of the best minded into a church body, and became their pastor, and Capt Underhill being their Governor, they called this town Dover. But this Mr. Knolles at his first coming thither wrote a letter to his friends in London, wherein he bitterly inveighed against us, both against our magistrates and churches, and against all the people in general, as by Mo. 12, 20

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1639. the copy of his letter ſent over to our Governor may appear. The Governor gave him notice thereof, and being brought to a better judgment by further conſideration and more experience, he ſaw the wrong he had done us, and was deeply humbled for it, and wrote to the Governor to that effect, and deſired a ſafe conduct that he might come into the Bay to give ſatisfaction &c. for he could have no reſt in his ſpirit 'till &c. which being ſent him under the Governor his hand, with conſent of the council, and upon a lecture day at Boſton moſt of the magiſtrates and elders in the bay being there aſſembled, he made a very free and full confeſſion of his offence with much aggravation againſt himſelf, as the aſſembly were well ſatisfied. He wrote alſo a letter to the ſame effect to his ſaid friends in England, which he left with the Governor to be ſent to them.

Capt. Underhill alſo being ſtruck with horror and remorſe for his offences, both againſt the church and civil ſtate, could have no reſt 'till he had obtained a ſafe conduct to come and give ſatisfaction; and accordingly at a lecture at Boſton (it being then the court time) he made a public confeſſion both of his living in adultery with Ffabers wife (upon ſuſpicion whereof the church had beſore admoniſhed him) and attempting the like with another woman, and alſo the injury he had done to our ſtate &c. and acknowledged the juſtice of the court in their proceeding againſt him. Yet all his confeſſions were mixed with ſuch excuſes and extenuations, as did not give ſatisfaction of the truth of his repentence, ſo as it ſeemed to be done rather out of policy and to pacify the ſting of his conſcience, than in ſincerity: but however his offences being ſo foul and ſcandalous, the church preſently caſt him out, which cenſure he ſeemed to ſubmit unto: and for the time he ſtaid in Boſton (being four or five days) he was very much dejected &c. but being gone back he ſoon recovered his ſpirits again, or at leaſt, gave not that proof of a broken heart as he gave hope of at Boſton. For, to ingratiate himſelf with the ſtate of England and with ſome gentlemen at the river's mouth who were very zealous that way, and had lately ſet up common prayer &c. he ſent 13 men armed to Exeter to fetch one Gab. Fiſh who was detained in the officers hands for ſpeaking againſt the King (the magiſtrates of Exeter being then in the bay to take advice what to do with him;) and beſides, when the church and people of Dover deſired him to forbear to come to the next court

'till they had conſidered of his caſe, and he had promiſed ſo to do, yet hearing that they were conſulting to remove him from his government, he could not refrain, but came and took his place in the court, and tho' he had offered to lay down his place, yet when he ſaw they went about it, he grew paſſionate, and expoſtulated with them, and would not ſtay to receive his diſmiſſion, nor would be ſeen to accept it when it was ſent after him. Yet they proceeded and choſe one Roberts to be preſident of the court, and ſoon after they returned back Fiſh to Exeter, which was conſiderately done, for it had been a dangerous precedent againſt them, being a weak plantation, if the commiſſioners from the lords of the council, who were daily expected, ſhould have taken occaſion to have done the like by them, tho' they held themſelves to be out of that province which was granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Beſides this, in the open court he committed one of his fellow magiſtrates for riſing up and ſaying he would not ſet with an adulterer &c. But the chief matter for which they proceeded againſt him was, that whereas he himſelf was the chief mover of them to break off their agreement with us, he had written to our Governor and laid it upon the people, eſpecially upon ſome among them: and for this they produced againſt him a letter from our Governor written to one of their commiſſioners in anſwer to a letter of his, wherein he had diſcovered the captain's proceeding in that matter. Soon after this the captain came by water into the bay to tender (as he ſaid) ſatisfaction to the church. This was taken by ſome of the magiſtrates as a very preſumptuos act, and they would have had him impriſoned, ſuppoſing that his ſafe conduct would not bear him out having been once here and returned back again, but that council was not approved becauſe the time of his ſafe conduct was not expired, and it was thought very dangerous to our reputation to give the leaſt occaſion of reproach in this kind, ſeeing it might be objected againſt us to our great prejudice, when we ſhould not have opportunity to clear our innocency, but the church not being ſatisfied of his repentance, would not admit him to public ſpeech, ſo after one week he returned home. 1639.

In this winter, in a cloſe calm day, there fell divers flakes of ſnow of this form * very thin, and as exactly pointed as art could have cut them in paper. (1) 24.

The church of Boſton ſent three brethren, viz. Capt. Ed-

1640. Edward Gibbons, Mr. Hibbins and Mr. Oliver the younger with letters to Mr. Coddington and the reſt of our members at Aquiday, to underſtand their judgments in divers points of religion formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give account to the church, of their unwarrantable practice of cemmunicating with excommunicated perſons. When they came they found that thoſe of them who dwelt at Newport had joined themſelves to a church there newly conſtituted, and thereupon they refuſed to hear them as meſſengers of our church, or to receive the church's letters. Whereupon at their return, the elders and moſt of the church would have caſt them out as refuſing to hear the church, but all being not agreed, it was deferred.

18 Mr. Norris was ordained teacher of the church of Salem, there being preſent near all the elders of the other churches, and much people beſide.

21 The white angel a ſmall ſhip of Briſtol went from hence and arrived there in 24 days, and the ſame year, the Deſire, a ſhip built at Marblehead, of 100 tons went from hence in the ſummer and arrived at Graveſend in the Thames in 23 days.

Our neighbours of Plimouth had procured from hence, this year, one Mr. Chancye, a great ſcholar, and a godly man, intending to call him to the office of a teacher, but before the fit time came, he diſcovered his judgment about baptiſm, that the children ought to be dipped and not ſprinkled, and he being an active man, and very vehement, there aroſe much trouble about it. The magiſtrates and the other elders there, and the moſt of the people, withſtood the receiving of that practice, not for itſelf ſo much, as for fear of worſe conſequences, as the annihilating our baptiſm &c. Whereupon the church there wrote to all the other churches both here and at Connecticut &c. for advice, and ſent Mr. Chancye's arguments. The churches took them into conſideration and wrote their ſeveral anſwers, wherein they ſhewed their diſſent from him, and clearly confuted all his arguments, diſcovering withal ſome great miſtakes of his about the judgment and practice of antiquity. Yet he would not give over his opinion, and the church of Plimouth, tho' they could not agree to call him to office, yet being much taken with his able parts, they were very loth to part with him. He did maintain alſo that the Lord's ſupper ought to be adminiſtered in the evening

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and every Lord's day; and the church at Sandwith (where one Mr. Loveridge was miniſter) fell into the practice of it, but that being a matter of no great ill conſequence, ſave ſome outward inconvenience, there was little ſtir about it. This Mr. Chançye was after called to office in the church of Scituate. 1646.

One Palmer of Hingham and two others, being ancient and ſkilful ſeamen, being in a ſhallop of 100 tons, in an eaſterly wind by Peddock iſland, were overſet, yet one of them had the ſheet in his hand and let fly, but it was too late, having but little ballaſt in her, yet, it pleaſed God, there came by, ſoon after, a pinnace which eſpied them ſitting upon her ſhrouds, yet deep in the water, and took them up, but the ſhallop was not heard of after.

Many men began to enquire after the ſouthern parts, and the great advantages ſuppoſed to be had in Virginia and the W. Indies &c. made this country to be diſeſteemed of many, and yet theſe countries, for all their great wealth, have ſent hither, both this year and formerly, for ſupply of cloaths and other neceſſaries, and ſome families have forſaken both Providence and other the Caribbee iſlands and Virginia to come live here; and tho' our people ſaw what meagre unhealthful countenances they brought hither, and how fat and well liking they became ſoon, yet they were ſo taken with the eaſe and plenty of thoſe countries, as many of them ſold their eſtates here to tranſport themſelves to Providence. Among whom the chief was Jo: Humfrye Eſq. a gentleman of ſpecial parts of learning and activity, and a godly man, who had been one of the firſt beginners in the promoting of this plantation, and had laboured very much therein, he being brought low in his eſtate, and having many children, and being well known to the lords of Providence, and offering himſelf to their ſervice was accepted to be the next Governor. Whereupon he laboured much to draw men to join with him. This was looked upon by the general court and alſo by the elders, as an unwarrantable courſe, for tho' it was thought very needful to further plantations of churches in the Weſt-Indies, and all were willing to endeavour the ſame, yet to do it with diſparagement of this country (for they gave out that they could not ſubſiſt here) cauſed us to fear that the Lord was not with them in this way, and withal ſome conſiderations were propounded to them by the court, which diverted ſome of them, and made others to pauſe upon three

1640. 3 points. Eſpecially 1.—How dangerous it was to bring up an ill report upon this good land which God had found out and given to his people, and ſo to diſcourage the hearts of their brethren; and 2. To leave a place of reſt and ſafety to expoſe themſelves, their wives and children to the danger of a potent enemy, the Spaniards. 3. Their ſubjection to ſuch Governors as thoſe in England ſhall ſet over them &c. Notwithſtanding theſe conſiderations, divers of them perſiſted in their reſolutions, and went about to get ſome ſhip or bark to tranſport them, but they were ſtill croſſed by the hand of God.

Mo. 3. 17 Joſeph Grafton ſet ſail from Salem the 2d day in the morning in a Cavye of about 40 tons (three men and a boy in her) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind eaſterly) upon the third day in the morning, and there took in ſome 20 cows, oxen &c. with hay and water for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day about 3 afternoon.

It came over by divers letters and reports that the Lord Say did labour, by diſparaging this country, to divert men from coming to us, and ſo to draw them to the W. Indies; and finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governors than ſuch as they ſhould make choice of themſelves, they condeſcended to articles ſomewhat ſuitable to our form of government, altho' they had formerly declared themſelves much againſt it, and for a more ariſtocratic and an hereditary magiſtracy to be ſettled upon ſome great perſons &c.

The Governor alſo wrote to the Lord Say about the report aforeſaid, and therein ſhewed his lordſhip how evident it was that God had choſen this country to plant his people in, and therefore how diſpleaſing it would be to the Lord, and dangerous to himſelf to hinder this work, or to diſcourage men from ſupplying us, by abaſing the goodneſs of the country which he never ſaw, and perſuading men that there was no poſſibility of ſubſiſtence—whereas there was a ſure ground for his children's faith, that being ſent hither by him, either he ſaw that the land was a good land and ſufficient to maintain them, or elſe he intended to make it ſuch &c. To this letter his lordſhip returned anſwer, not denying that which was reported of him, nor the evidence of the Lord's owning the work, but alledging that this was a place appointed only for a preſent refuge, and that a better place being now found, we were all called to remove thither.

The

The court of elections was at Boſton, and Thomas Dudley Eſq. was choſen Governor. Some trouble there had been in making way for his election, and it was obtained with ſome difficulty, for many of the elders laboured much in it, fearing leſt the long continuance of one man in the place ſhould bring it to be for life, and in time, hereditary. Beſide this gentleman was a man of approved wiſdom and godlineſs, and of much good ſervice to the country, and therefore it was his due to ſerve in ſuch honor and benefit as the country had to beſtow. The elders being met at Boſton about this matter, ſent ſome of their company to acquaint the old Governor with their deſire and the reaſons moving them, clearing themſelves of all diſlike of his government, and ſeriouſly profeſſing their ſincere affections and reſpect towards him, which he kindly and thankfully accepted, concurring with them in their motion, and expreſſing his unfeigned deſire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occaſions, wherein they well knew how much he had lately ſuffered (for his bailiff whom he truſted with managing his farm had engaged him £.2500 without his privity) in his outward eſtate. This they had heard of, and were much affected therewith, and all the country in general, and took courſe (the elders agreeing upon it at that meeting) that ſupply ſhould be ſent in from the ſeveral towns, by a voluntary contribution, for freeing of thoſe engagements, and the court having no money to beſtow, and being yet much indebted, gave his wife 3,000 acres of land, and ſome of the towns ſent in liberally, and ſome others promiſed, but could perform but little, and the moſt nothing at all. The whole came to £.500 whereof near half came from Boſton, and one gentleman of Newbury Mr. Richard Dummer propounded for a ſupply by a more private way, and for example, himſelf diſburſed £100. 1640. 13

This firſt court there fell ſome difference between the Governor and ſome of the deputies about a vote upon a motion to have the fine of £.200 impoſed upon Mr. Robert Kaine to be abated. Some would have had it at £.100—others at 100 mills, others at 50, and becauſe the Governor put the loweſt to the vote firſt, whereas divers called for the higheſt, they charged the Governor with breach of order, whereupon he grew into ſome heat, profeſſing that he would not ſuffer ſuch things &c. The deputies took this as a menacing, and much offence they took

1640. took at it, but the next day he cleared his intention to them, and all was quiet.

Mo. 4. Divers of the inhabitants of Linne finding themſelves ſtraitened, looked out for a new plantation, and going to Long Iſland, they agreed with the Lord Sterling's agent there, one Mr. Forett, for a parcel of the iſle near the Weſt end, and agreed with the indians for their right. The dutch hearing of this, and making claim to that part of the iſland by a former purchaſe of the indians, ſent men to take poſſeſſion of the place, and ſet up the arms of the Prince of Orange, upon a tree. The Linne men ſent ten or twele men with proviſions &c. who began to build, and took down the Prince's arms, and in place thereof an indian had drawn an unhandſome face. The Dutch took this in high diſpleaſure, and ſent ſoldiers and fetched away their men and impriſoned them a few days, and then took an oath of them and ſo diſcharged them. Upon this the Linne men finding themſelves too weak and having no encouragement to expect aid from the Engliſh, deſiſted that place, and took another at the Eaſt end of the ſame iſland, and being now about 40 families, they proceeded in their plantation, and called one Mr. Pierſon a godly learned man, and a member of the church of Boſton to go with them, who with ſome 7 or 8 more of the company gathered into a church at Linne, before they went, and the whole company entered into a civil combination, with the advice of ſome of our magiſtrates, to become a corporation. Upon this occaſion the Dutch Governor, one William Kiffe, a diſcreet man, wrote to our Governor, and complaining of the Engliſh uſurpation both at Connecticut, and now alſo at Long Iſland, and of the abuſe offered to the Prince's arms &c. and thereupon excuſed his impriſoning our men. To which the Governor returned anſwer, that our deſire had always been to hold a peace and good correſpondency with all our neighbours, and though we would not maintain any of our countrymen in any unjuſt action, yet we might not ſuffer them to be injured &c. As for our neighbours of Connecticut &c. he knew they were not under our government, and for thoſe at Long Iſland, they went voluntarily from us.

This year there came over great ſtore of proviſions both out of England and Ireland, and but few paſſengers, and thoſe brought very little money, which was occaſioned by the ſtore of money and quick markets which the merchants

chants found here the two or three years before, ſo as now all our money was drained from us, and cattle and all commodities grew very cheap, which inforced us at the next general court in the 8th month, to make an order, That corn ſhould paſs in payments of new debts, indian at 4ſ the bus. rye at 5ſ and wheat at 6ſ—and that upon all executions for former debts, the creditor might take what he pleaſed, or if he had no goods, then his lands, to be appraiſed by three men, one choſen by the creditor, one by the debtor, and the third by the marſhall. 1640.

One of the ſhips which came this ſummer ſtruck upon a whale with a full gale, which put the ſhip a ſtays, the whale ſtruck the ſhip on her bow with her tail a little above water, and brake the planks and ſix timbers and a beam, and ſtaved two hogſheads of vinegar.

There was ſome rumour of the indians plotting miſchief againſt the engliſh, and to ſtrengthen this, the Governor of Plimouth Mr. Brodford, wrote a letter to this effect, that he was informed, and did believe it, that the Naraganſett ſachem Miantunomoh had ſent a great preſent of wampom to the Mohawks to aid him againſt the engliſh, and that it was accepted and aid promiſed. The like news was brought by Mr. Haynes one of the magiſtrates upon Connecticut, and many words were taken up from ſome indians among us which our fears interpreted the ſame way. The Governor and council gave no great credit to theſe ſuſpicions, yet they thought fit to take order, ſtrengthning the watches in all towns, and cauſed them to be ordered by the military officers (being before committed to the conſtables charge) and withal ſent Capt. Jenyſon with three men and an indian interpreter to the Naraganſett ſachem to know the truth of their intentions &c. They were very kindly entertained, but they would not ſpeak with him in the preſence of his indian interpreter. They denied all confederations with the Mohawks, and profeſſed their purpoſe to continue friendſhip with us, and not to uſe any hoſtility towards the engliſh except they began &c. and promiſed to come to Boſton (as he was deſired) if Mr. Williams might come with him, but that we had denied. Only Janemoh the Niantick ſachem, carried himſelf proudly and refuſed to come to us, or to yield to any thing, only he ſaid he would not harm us except we invaded him. Mo. 7.

The Governor and council took from Cutſhankin the pow-

1640. powder and ſhot they had bought of our people, with promiſe to pay for it or reſtore it. &c.

Mr. Collins &c. from Chriſtophers

This ſummer there came divers godly men (as they pretended from papers) with their families. The occaſion was, one Mr. Collins a young ſcholar full of zeal &c. preaching in the iſland, it pleaſed God, divers were wrought upon by him, but he and they being preſented, and their liberty reſtrained, they came away and brought all their ſubſtance in tobacco, which came at ſo dead a market as they could not get above two pence the pound (the freight came to one penny the pound) nor could ſell half at that rate. They arrived firſt at Quilipiack, ſince called New Haven, and ſo diſperſed themſelves here and there, and ſome returned to Ireland. Mr. Collins and one Mr. Hales a young man very well conceited of himſelf and cenſorious of others, went to Aquiday, and ſo ſoon as Hales became acquainted with Mrs. Hutchinſon he was taken by her and became her diſciple. Mr. Collins was entertained at Hartford to teach a ſchool, and hearing of Mrs. Hutchinſons opinions &c. wrote to Mr. Hales to beware of her. Mr. Hales returned him anſwer, and the next morning he went away without taking leave, and being come to Mrs Hutchinſon, he was alſo taken with her hereſies, and in great admiration of her, ſo as theſe and other the like before when ſhe dwelt at Boſton gave cauſe of ſuſpicion of witchcraft, for it was certainly known that Hawkin's wife who continued with her, and was her boſom friend, had much familiarity with the Devil, in England, when ſhe dwelt at St. Ives, where divers miniſters and others reſorted to her and found it true.

This ſummer here arrived one Mr. Thomas Gorge a young gentleman of the inns of court, a kinſman to Sir Ferdinand Gorge, and ſent by him with commiſſion for the government of his province of Somerſetſhire. He was ſober and well diſpoſed; he ſtaid a few days at Boſton and was very careful to take advice of our magiſtrates how to manage his affairs &c. When he came to Acomenticus he found all out of order, for Mr. Burdett ruled all, and had let looſe the reins of liberty to his luſts—that he grew very notorious for his pride and adultery; and the neighbours now finding Mr. Gorge well inclined to reform things, they complained of him, and produced ſuch foul matters againſt him as he was laid hold on, and bound to appear at their court at Sacoe: but he dealt ſo with ſome other of the commiſſioners that when the court

court came, Mr. Vines and two more ſtood for him, but Mr. Gorge having the greater part on his ſide, and the jury finding him guilty of adultery and other crimes, with much labour and difficulty he was fined (under £30.) He appealed unto England, but Mr. Gorge would not admit his appeal, but ſeized ſome of his cattle &c. Upon this Mr. Burdett went into England, but when he came there he found the ſtate ſo changed as his hopes were fruſtrated, and he, after taking part with the cavaliers, was committed to priſon. 1640.

One Baker, maſter's mate of the ſhip being in drink, uſed ſome reproachful words of the Queen. The Governor and Council were much in doubt what to do with him, but having conſidered that he was diſtempered and ſorry for it, and being a ſtranger and a chief officer in the ſhip, and many ſhips were then in harbour, they thought it not fit to inflict corporeal puniſhment upon him, but after he had been two or three days in priſon, he was ſet an hour at the whipping poſt with a paper on his head and ſo diſmiſſed.

Being the ſecond day of the week, the Mary Roſe a ſhip of Briſtol, of about 200 tons, her maſter one Capt. lying before Charleſtown, was blown in pieces with her own powder, being 21 barrels, wherein the judgment of God appeared, for the maſter and company were many of them profane ſcoffers at us, and at the ordinances of religion here; ſo as our churches keeping a faſt for our native country &c. they kept aboard at their common ſervice when all the reſt of the maſters came to our aſſemblies; likewiſe the Lord's day following, and a friend of his going aboard next day and aſking him why he came not on ſhore to our meetings, his anſwer was, that he had a family of his own, and they had as good ſervice aboard as we had on ſhore. Within two hours after this (being abont dinner time) the powder took fire (no man knows how) and blew all up, viz. the Captain and nine or ten of his men and ſome four or five ſtrangers. There was a ſpecial providence that there were no more, for many principal men were going aboard at that time, and ſome were in a boat near the ſhip, and others were diverted by a ſudden ſtorm of rain, and others by other occaſions. There was one man ſaved, being carried up in the ſcuttle, and ſo let fall in the ſame into the water, and being taken up by the ferry boat near dead, he came to himſelf the next morning, but could not tell any thing of the blow- Mo.5. 27

1640. blowing of the ſhip, or how he came there. The reſt of the dead bodies were after found much bruiſed and broken. Some goods were ſaved, but the whole loſs was eſtimated at £2,000. A 20s piece was found ſticking in a chip, for there was above £.300 in money in her, and 15 tons of lead, and 10 pieces of ordnance, which a year after were taken up, and the hull of the ſhip drawn a ſhore.

This judgment of God upon theſe ſcorners of his ordinance and the ways of his ſervants (for they ſpake very evil of us becauſe they found not ſo good a market for their commodities as they expected) gives occaſion to mention other examples of like kind which fell out at this and other times, by which it will appear how the Lord hath owned this work, and preſerved and proſpered his people here beyond ordinary ways of providence.

One Capt. Maſon of London a man in favour at court, and a profeſſed enemy to us, had a plantation at Piſcat: which he was at great charge about, and ſet up a ſawmill, but nothing proſpered. He provided a ſhip which ſhould have been employed to have brought the general governor, or in ſome other deſign to our prejudice, but in launching of it her back was broken. He alſo employed Gardiner, Morton and others to proſecute againſt us at council table, and by a *quo warranto*, &c. ſo as Morton wrote divers letters to his friends here, inſulting againſt us, and aſſuring them of our ſpeedy ruin &c. But the Lord ſtill diſapproved them and fruſtrated all their deſigns. As for this Morton he fell ſick and died ſoon after, and in his ſickneſs he ſent for the miniſter and bewailed his enmity againſt us, and promiſed, if he recovered, to be as great a friend to New-England as he had formerly been an enemy. Sir Ferdinand Gorge alſo had ſided with our adverſaries againſt us, but underhand pretending by his letters and ſpeeches to ſeek our welfare: but he never proſpered. He attempted great matters and was at large expences about his province here, but he loſt all.

One Auſtin, a man of good eſtate, came with his family in the year 1638 to Quinipiack, and not finding the country as he expected, he grew diſcontented, ſaying that he could not ſubſiſt here, and thereupon made off his eſtate, and with his family and £.1,000 in his purſe, he returned for England in a ſhip bound for Spain, againſt the advice of the godly there, who told him he would be taken by the turks; and it ſo fell out, for in Spain he embarked himſelf in a great ſhip bound for England which car-

carried £200,000 in money, but the ſhip was taken by the turks, and Auſtin and his wife and family were carried to Algiers and ſold there for ſlaves. 1640.

The Lord hath ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt others, tho' godly, who have ſpoken ill of this country, and ſo diſcouraged the hearts of his people. Even the lords and others of Providence having ſpoken too much in that kind, thinking thereby to further their own plantation. They ſet out a ſhip the laſt year with paſſengers and goods for Providence but it was taken by the turks. Captain Newman, the ſame year, having taken good prize in their ſervice, returning home when he was near Dover, was taenk by a Dunkirk and all loſt. Mr. Humphry, who was now for Providence with his company, raiſed an ill report of this country, were here kept, in ſpight of all their endeavours and means to have been gone this winter, and his corn and all his hay to the value of £160 were burnt by his own ſervants who made a fire in his barn, and by gunpowder, which accidentally took fire, conſumed all; himſelf having at the court before petitioned for ſome ſupply of his want, whereupon the court gave him £250. Soon after alſo Providence was taken by the Spaniards, and the lords loſt all their care and coſt to the value of above £60,000.

Capt. Underhill being brought by the bleſſing of God in this church's cenſure of excommunication, to remorſe for his foul ſins, obtained, by means of the elders, and others of the church of Boſton, a ſafe conduct under the hand of the Governor and one of the council to repair to the church; he came at the time of the court of aſſiſtants; and upon the lecture day, after ſermon, the paſtor called him forth and declared the occaſion, and then gave him leave to ſpeak: and indeed it was a ſpectacle which cauſed many weeping eyes, tho' it afforded matter of much rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jeſus in his own ordinances when they are diſpenſed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his regal ſceptre in the ſimplicity of the goſpel. He came in his worſt clothes (being accuſtomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatneſs) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled cloſe to his eyes, and ſtanding upon a form, he did, with many deep ſighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked courſe, his adultery, his hypocriſy, his perſecution of God's people here, and eſpecially his pride (as the root of all which cauſed God to give him over to his other ſinful (7) 3

1640. courſes and contempt of the magiſtrates. He juſtified God and the church and the court in all that had been inflicted on him. He declared what power Satan had of him ſince the caſting out of the church—how his preſumptuous laying hold of mercy and pardon before God gave it, did then fail him when the terrors of God came upon him, ſo as he could have no reſt, nor could ſee any iſſue but utter deſpair, which had put him divers times upon reſolutions of deſtroying himſelf, had not the Lord in mercy prevented him even when his ſword was ready to have done the execution. Many fearful temptations he met with beſide, and in all theſe his heart ſhut up in hardneſs and impenitency as the bondſlave of ſatan 'till the Lord after a long time and great afflictions, had broken his heart, and brought him to humble himſelf before him night and day with prayers and tears 'till his ſtrength was waſted; and indeed he appeared as a man worn out with ſorrow, and yet he could find no peace, therefore he was now come to ſeek it in this ordinance of God. He ſpake well, ſave that his blubbering &c. interrupted him, and all along he diſcovered a broken and melting heart, and gave good exhortations to take heed of ſuch vanities and beginnings of evil as had occaſioned his fall; and in the end he earneſtly and humbly beſought the church to have compaſſion of him, and to deliver him out of the hands of ſatan, ſo accordingly he was received into the church again; and after he came into the court (for the general court began ſoon after) and made confeſſion of his ſin againſt them &c. and deſired pardon, which the court freely granted him ſo far as concerned their private judgment, but for his adultery they could not pardon that for example ſake, nor would reſtore him to freedom, tho' they releaſed his baniſhment, and declared the former law againſt adultery to be of no force, ſo as there was no law now to touch his life, for the new law againſt adultery was made ſince his fact committed. He confeſſed alſo in the congregation that tho' he was very familiar with that woman, and had gained her affection &c. yet ſhe withſtood him ſix months againſt all his ſollicitations (which he thought no woman could have reſiſted) before he could overcome her chaſtity, but being once overcome, ſhe was wholly at his will, and to make his peace the more ſound, he went to her huſband (being a cooper) and fell upon his knees before him in the preſence of ſome of the elders and others, and confeſſed the

the wrong he had done him, and beſought him to forgive him, which he did very freely, and in teſtimony thereof he ſent the Captain's wife a token. 1640. Mo. 7.

It rained three days and nights together, and the tides were extraordiaary high. 4. 5. 6.

It is before declared how the church of Boſton ſent meſſengers and a letter to their members at Aquiday, and how they refuſed to hear them, pretending themſelves to be no members, being now ſo far removed. Whereupon the elders and moſt of the church intended to have caſt them out, as refuſers to hear the church; but ſome others deſired that the church would write to them once again, which accordingly was done, and the letter drawn by Mr. Cotton, wherein he fully repeated all former proceedings, both of the church and of the court, and juſtified both, and condemned their errors and diſturbance of the peace here, and their remonſtrance, and Mr. Wheelwright's ſermon (which formerly among other his failings, being miſled by their ſubtilty &c. he had juſtified and commended) and ſhewed how the church had been wronged by them. Mo. 9.

Miantunomoh the ſachem of Naraganſett came, and was met at Dorcheſter by Capt. Gibbons and a guard of twelve muſketeers, and well entertained at Roxbury by the Governor; but when we came to parley he refuſed to treat with us by our Pequod interpreter, as he had done before to Capt. Jenyſon, and the Governor being as reſolute as he, refuſed to uſe any other interpreter, thinking it a diſhonor to us to give ſo much way to them. Whereupon he came from Roxbury to Boſton, departing in a rude manner, without ſhewing any reſpect or ſign of thankfulneſs to the Governor for his entertainment, whereof the Governor informed the general court, and would ſhew him no countenance, nor admit him to dine at our table, as formerly he had done 'till he had acknowledged his failing &c. which he readily did, ſo ſoon as he could be made to underſtand it, and did ſpeak with our committees and us by a Pequod maid who could ſpeak engliſh perfectly; but it was conceived by ſome of the court that he kept back ſuch things as he accounted ſecrets of ſtate. and that he would carry home in his breaſt as an injury, the ſtrict terms he was put to both in this, and the ſatisfaction he was urged to for not obſerving our cuſtom in matter of manners, for he told us that when our men came to him they were permitted to uſe their own

faſhions,

1640. faſhions, and ſo he expected the ſame liberty with us: ſo as he departed and nothing agreed, only the former articles of peace were read to him and allowed by him with this addition, that if any of his men did ſet traps in our juriſdiction &c. they ſhould be liable to ſatisfy all damages &c.

Mo. 8. The elders had moved at a general court before, that the diſtinction between the two juriſdictions might be ſet down, that the churches might know their power, and the civil magiſtrate his. The ſame had been moved by the magiſtrates formerly, and now at this court they preſented a writing to that effect to be conſidered by the court, wherein they declared that the civil magiſtrate ſhould not proceed againſt a church member before the church had dealt with him, with ſome other reſtraints which the court did not allow of, ſo the matter was referred to further conſideration, and it appeared indeed that divers of the elders did not agree in thoſe points.

At this court Mr. Ez: Rogers paſtor of the church in Rowlye, being not kindly dealt with, nor juſtly, as he alledged, concerning the limits of their town, moved for further enlargement for taking in a neck of land upon Merrimack near Cochitawit, for which end they deſired their line might run ſquare from Ipſwich line. This line was granted, and he ſaid it ſhould ſatisfy, but within an hour after, it was diſcovered that he was miſtaken, and that ſuch a line would not reach the neck, whereupon he came again and confeſſed his miſtake, and ſtill demanded the neck. The court was very doubtful what to do in it, having formerly granted a plantation at Cochitawit, and did not yield his requeſt. Whereupon he pleaded juſtice, upon ſome promiſes of large accommodations &c. when we deſired his ſitting down with us, and grew into ſome paſſion, ſo as in departing from the court, he ſaid he would acquaint the elders with it. This behaviour being menacing, as it was taken, gave juſt cauſe of offence to the court, ſo as he was ſent for, not by the officer, but by one of Rowlye deputies. Before he came he wrote to the Governor wherein he confeſſed his paſſionate diſtemper—declared his meaning in thoſe offenſive ſpeeches, as that his meaning was that he would propound the caſe to the elders for advice only about the equity of it, which he ſtill defended. This would not be accepted, but the court would have him appear and anſwer: only they left him to take his own time, ſo the

next day he came, not accompanied with any other of the elders, tho' many were then in town, and did freely and humbly blame himſelf for his paſſionate diſtemper; and the court knowing that he would not yield from the juſtice of his cauſe, (as he apprehended it) they would not put him upon any temptation, but accepted his ſatisfaction, and freely granted what he formerly deſired. 1640.

A commiſſion had formerly been granted to Mr. Endicott and Mr. Stoughton for joining with the commiſſioners who met the ſecond time at Scituate, and there came to a full agreement which was certified this court, and recorded to this effect, That the bounds ſhould be the beach of Conyhaſſett creek neareſt to Scituate, with 60 acres of marſh in the ſouth ſide.

The ſcarcity of mony made a great change in all commerce. Merchants would ſell no wares but for ready money—men could not pay their debts tho' they had enough—prices of lands and cattle fell ſoon to the one half and leſs, yea to a third, and after one fourth part.

The church of Watertown ordained Mr. Knolles a godly man and a prime ſcholar, paſtor, and ſo they had now two paſtors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches, as alſo they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighbouring churches, nor to the magiſtrates, as the common practice was. Mo. 10. 9

At the court of aſſiſtants one Hugh Bewett was baniſhed for holding publickly and maintaining that he was free from original ſin and from actual alſo for half a year before, and that all true chriſtians after are enabled to live without committing actual ſin.

A pinnace called the Coach being in her voyage to New Haven (late Quinipiack) between Salem and Cape Cod, ſprang a leak, ſo as in in the morning they found her hold half filled with water; whereupon the ſeamen and paſſengers betook themſelves to their ſkiff, being a very ſmall one, and the wind then growing very high at S.W. only one Jackſon a godly man and an experienced ſeamen, would not leave the veſſel before he had tried the utmoſt, ſo getting them in again, and tying the bark upon the contrary ſide, they fell to getting out the water, which, it pleaſed God, they overcame, and having a fine freſh gale, they got ſafe back to Salem. 15

Mr. Pelham's houſe in Cambridge took fire in the dead of

1640. of the night by the chimney. A neighbour's wife hearing ſome noiſe among her hens, perſuaded her huſband to ariſe, which, being very cold, he was loth to do, yet thro' her great importunity he did, and ſo eſpied the fire, and came running in his ſhirt, and had much to do to awake any body, but he got them up at laſt, and ſo ſaved all, the fire being ready to lay hold upon the ſtairs. They had all been burnt in their chambers, if God had not by his ſpecial providence, ſent help at that very inſtant.

About this time a pinnace called the *Make Shift* (becauſe ſhe was built of the wreck of a greater veſſel at the Iſle of Sable, and by that means the men ſaved) being on a voyage to the ſouthward, was caſt away upon a ledge of rocks near Long Iſland, the goods were all loſt, but the men were ſaved. No winter but ſome veſſels have been caſt away in that voyage.

About this time there fell out a thing worthy of obſervation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magiſtrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers ſorts, had among them one wherein the Greek teſtament, the pſalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books tho' there were above a thouſand.

Mo. 8. We received a letter at the general court from the magiſtrates of Connecticut and New-Haven and of Aquiday, wherein they declared their diſlike of ſuch as would have the indians rooted out, as being of the curſed race of Shem, and their deſire of our mutual accord in ſeeking to gain them by juſtice and kindneſs, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them &c. We returned anſwer of our conſent with them in all things propounded, only we refuſed to include thoſe of Aquiday in our anſwer, or to have any treaty with them.

Mo. 10. About the end of this month a fiſhing ſhip arrived at Iſle of Shoals, and another ſoon after, and there came no more this ſeaſon for fiſhing. They brought us news of the Scotts entering into England, and the calling of a parliament, and the hope of a thorough reformation &c. whereupon ſome among us began to think of returning back to England. Others diſpairing of any more ſupply from thence, and yet not knowing how to live there if they

they ſhould return, bent their minds wholly to removal to the ſouth parts, ſuppoſing they ſhould find better means of ſubſiſtence there, and for this end put off their eſtates here at very low rates. Theſe things, together with the ſcarcity of money, cauſed a ſudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own commodities. Corn (indian) was ſold ordinarily at three ſhillings the buſhel, a good cow at ſeven or eight pounds, and ſome at £5— and other things anſwerable (ſee the order of court in 8ber. about theſe things) whereby it came to paſs that men could not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had, and he who laſt year, or but three months before was worth £.1000 could not now if he ſhould ſell his whole eſtate raiſe £.200 whereby God taught us the vanity of all outward things &c. 1640.

One Taylor of Linne having a milch cow in the ſhip as he came over, ſold the milk to the paſſengers for 2d the quart, and being after at a ſermon wherein oppreſſion was complained of &c. he fell diſtracted. This evil was very notorious among all ſorts of people, it being the common rule that moſt men walked by in all their commerce, to buy as cheap as they could, and to ſell as dear.

A great ſhip called the Charles of above 300 tons brought paſſengers hither this year. The maſter was a plain quiet man, but his company were very wicked, and did wrong the paſſengers much, and being at Piſcat: to take in clapboards with another ſhip wherein Mr. Peters by occaſion preached one Lord's day, the company of the Charles did uſe all the means they could to diſturb the exerciſe, by hooting and hallooing, but in their return they were ſet upon by the Turks and divers of them killed.

A wicked fellow given up to beſtiality, fearing to be taken by the hand of juſtice, fled to Long Iſland, and there was drowned. He had confeſſed to ſome that he was ſo given up to that abomination, that he never ſaw any beaſt go before him but he luſted after it.

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia took upon him to be a miniſter, but was given up of God to extreme pride and ſenſuality, being uſually drunken, as the cuſtom is there. He ſent for his wife and children, her friends here purſuaded her to ſtay a while, but ſhe went notwithſtanding, and the veſſel was never heard of after.

The

1640. The church of Dorcheſter being furniſhed with a very godly & able paſtor, one Mr. Mather, and having invited
Mo. 12. 2 to them one Mr. Burre who had been a miniſter in England, and of very good report there for piety and learning, with intent to call him alſo to office after he was received a member in their church, and had given good proof of his gifts and godlineſs to the ſatisfaction of the church, they gave him a call to office, which he deferring to accept, in the mean time he delivered ſome points ſavouring of familiſt, wherein the church deſiring ſatisfaction, and he not ſo free to give it as was meet, it was agreed that Mr. Mather and he ſhould confer together, and ſo the church ſhould be informed wherein the difference lay. Accordingly Mr. Burre wrote his judgment in the points in difference, in ſuch manner and terms as from ſome of his propoſitions there could no other be gathered but that he was erroneous, but this was again ſo qualified in other parts as might admit of a charitable conſtruction. Mr. Mather reports to the church the errors which might be collected, without mentioning the qualification, or acquainting Mr. Burre with it before. When this was publiſhed, Mr. Burre diſclaimed the errors, and Mr. Mather maintained them from his writings; whereupon the church was divided, ſome joining with the one, and ſome with the other, ſo as it grew to ſome heat and alienation, and many days were ſpent for reconciliation, but all in vain. In the end they agreed to call in help from other churches, ſo this day there was a meeting at Dorcheſter, the Governor and another of the magiſtrates, and about ten of the elders of the neighbouring churches, wherein four days were ſpent in opening the cauſe, and ſuch offences as had fallen out in the proſecution, and in concluſion the magiſtrates and elders declared their judgment and advice in the caſe to this effect. That both ſides had cauſe to be humbled for their failings, more particularly Mr. Burre for his doubtful and unſafe expreſſions, and backwardneſs to give clear ſatisfaction &c.—and Mr. Mather for his inconſideration both in not acquainting Mr. Burre with his collections before he had publiſhed them to the church, and in not certifying the qualifications of thoſe errors which were in his writings: for which they were adviſed to ſet a day apart for reconciliation. Upon this Mr. Mather and Mr. Burre took the blame of their failings upon themſelves, and freely ſubmitted to the judgment and ad-

advice given, to which the reſt of the church yielded a ſilent aſſent, and God was much glorified in the cloſe thereof, and Mr. Burre did again fully renounce theſe erroneous opinions of which he had been ſuſpected, confeſſing that he was in the dark about theſe points 'till God, by occaſion of this agitation had cleared them to him, which he did with much meekneſs and many tears. 1640.

The church of Boſton were neceſſitated to build a new meeting houſe, and a great difference aroſe about the place of ſituation, which had much troubled other churches on the like occaſion, but after ſome debate it was referred to a committee and was quietly determined. It coſt about £1000. which was raiſed out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noiſe or complaint, when in ſome other churches which did it by way of rates, there was much difficulty and compulſion by laws to raiſe a far leſs ſum.

The general fear of want of foreign commodities now our money was gone, and that things were like to go well in England, ſet us on work to provide ſhipping of our own, for which end Mr. Peters, being a man of a very public ſpirit and ſingular activity for all occaſions, procured ſome to join for building a ſhip at Salem of 300 tons, and the inhabitants of Boſton ſtirred up by his example, ſet upon the building another at Boſton of 150 tons. The work was hard to accompliſh for want of money &c. but our ſhipwrights were content to take ſuch pay as the country could make. The ſhipwright at Salem, thro' want of care of his tackle &c. occaſioned the death of one Baker who was deſired with five or ſix more to help hale up a piece of timber, which, the rope breaking, fell down upon them. The reſt by ſpecial providence were ſaved. This Baker going forth in the morning very well, after he had prayed, told his wife he ſhould ſee her no more, tho' he could not foreſee any danger towards him.

The court having found by experience that it would not avail by any law to redreſs the exceſſive rates of labourers and workmen's wages &c. for being reſtrained, they would either remove to other places where they might have more or elſe being able to live by planting and other employments of their own, they would not be hired at all. It was therefore referred to the ſeveral towns to ſet down rates among themſelves. This took better

1640. effect, ſo that in a voluntary way, by the counſel and perſuaſion of the elders, and example of ſome who led the way, they were brought to more moderation than they could be by compulſion, but it held not long.

Upon the great liberty which the King had left the parliament to in England, ſome of our friends there wrote to us advice to ſend over ſome to ſollicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much &c. but conſulting about it, we declined the motion for this conſideration, that if we ſhould put ourſelves under the protection of the parliament, we muſt then be ſubject to all ſuch laws as they ſhould make, or at leaſt ſuch as they might impoſe upon us; in which courſe tho' they ſhould intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us. But upon this occaſion the court of aſſiſtants being aſſembled, and adviſing with ſome of the elders about ſome courſe to ſerve the providence of God in making uſe of preſent opportunity of a ſhip of our own being ready bound for England, it was thought fit to ſend ſome choſen men in her with commiſſion to negociate for us, as occaſion ſhould be offered, both in furthering the work of reformation of the churches there which was now like to be attempted, and to ſatisfy our countrymen of the true cauſe why our engagements there have not been ſatisfied this year, as they were wont to be in all former time ſince we were here planted; and alſo to ſeek out ſome way, by procuring cotton from the W. Indies, or other means that might be lawful, and not diſhonorable to the goſpel, for our preſent ſupply of cloathing &c. for the country was like to afford enough for food &c. The perſons deſigned hereto were Mr. Peters paſtor of the church of Salem, Mr. Wade the paſtor of the church of Roxbury, and Mr. Hibbins of Boſton. For this end the Governor and near all the reſt of the magiſtrates and ſome of the elders wrote a letter to the church of Salem acquainting them with our intentions, and deſiring them to ſpare their paſtor for that ſervice. The Governor alſo moved the church of Roxbury for Mr. Welde, whom after ſome time of conſideration, they freely yielded. But when it was propounded to the church of Salem, Mr. Endicott, being a member thereof, and having formerly oppoſed it, did now again the like in the church. Some reaſons were there alledged—as that officers ſhould not be taken from their churches for civil occaſions, that the voyage would be long and dangerous—that it would be reported that we were

were in ſuch want as we had ſent to England to beg relief, which would be very dishonorable to religion, and that we ought to truſt God who had never failed us hitherto &c. But the main reaſon indeed which was privately intimated, was their fear leſt he ſhould be kept there, or diverted to the W. Indies, for Mr. Humphrey intended to go with him, who was already engaged that way by the lord Say &c. and therefore it was feared he ſhould fall under ſtrong temptations that way, being once in England; and Mr. Humphrey diſcovered his intentions the more by falling upon Mr Endicott in the open aſſembly at Salem for oppoſing this motion, and with that bitterneſs as gave great offence, and was like to have grown to a profeſſed breach between them, but being both godly, and hearkening to ſeaſonable counſel, they were ſoon reconciled, upon a free and public acknowledgment of ſuch failings as had paſſed. But the church, not willing to let their paſtor go, nor yet to give a plain denial to the magiſtrates' requeſt, wrote an anſwer by way of excuſe, tendring ſome reaſons of their unſatisfiedneſs about his going &c. The agitation of this buſineſs was ſoon about the country, whereby we perceived there would be ſiniſter interpretations made of it, and the ſhip being ſuddenly to depart, we gave it over for that ſeaſon. 1641.

A negro maid, ſervant to Mr. Stoughton of Dorcheſter, being well approved by divers years experience, for ſound knowledge and true godlineſs, was received into the church and baptized. Mo. 2. 13.

Some agitation fell out between us and Plimouth about Seacunk. Some of our people finding it fit for plantations, and thinking it out of our patent, which Plimouth men underſtanding, forbid them, and ſent to us to ſignify that it was within their grant, and that we would therefore forbid ours to proceed. But the planters having acquainted us with their title, and offering to yield it to our juriſdiction, and aſſuring us that it could not be in the Plimouth patent, we made anſwer to Plimouth accordingly, and encouraged our neighbours to go on, ſo as divers letters paſſing between us, and the ſending ſome to take poſſeſſion for them, at length we ſent ſome to Plimouth to ſee their patent, who bringing us a copy of ſo much as concerned the thing in queſtion, tho' we were not fully ſatisfied thereby, yet not being willing to ſtrive for land, we ſat ſtill.

There fell out much trouble about this time at Piſcat: Mr.

1641. Mr. Knolles had gathered a church of ſuch as he could get, men very raw for the moſt part &c. Afterwards there came amongſt them one Mr. Larkham who had been a miniſter at Northam near Barnſtaple in England, a man not favouring the right way of church diſcipline, but being a man of good parts and wealthy, the people were ſoon taken with him, and the greater part were forward to caſt off Mr. Knolles their poſtor and to chooſe him, for they were not willing nor able to maintain two officers, ſo Mr. Knolles gave place to him, and he being thus choſen, did ſoon diſcover himſelf. He received into the church all that offered themſelves tho' men notoriouſly ſcandalous and ignorant, ſo they would promiſe amendment, and fell into contention with the people, and would take upon him to rule all, even the magiſtrates (ſuch as they were) ſo as there ſoon grew ſharp contention between him and Mr. Knolles, to whom the more religious ſtill adhered, whereupon they were divided into two churches. Mr. Knolles and his company excommunicated Mr. Larkham, and he again laid violent hands upon Mr. Knolles. In this heat it began to grow to a tumult, ſome of their magiſtrates joined with Mr. Larkham and aſſembled a company to fetch Capt. Underhill (another of their magiſtrates and their Captain) to their court, and he alſo gathered ſome of the neighbours to defend himſelf, and to ſee the peace kept, ſo they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham's, one carrying a bible upon a ſtaff for an enſign, and Mr. Knolles with them armed with a piſtol. When Mr. Larkham and his company ſaw them thus provided, they proceeded no further, but ſent to Mr. Williams who was Governor of thoſe in the lower part of the river, who came up with a company of armed men and beſet Mr. Knolles' houſe where Capt. Underhill then was, and there they kept a guard upon them night and day, and in the mean time they called a court, and Mr. Williams ſitting as judge, they found Capt. Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and ſet great fines upon them, and ordered him and ſome others to depart the plantation. The cauſe of this eager proſecution of Capt. Underhill was becauſe he had procured a good part of the inhabitants there to offer themſelves again to the government of the Maſſachuſetts, who being thus proſecuted, they ſent a petition to us for aid.

The Governor and council conſidered of their petition, and gave commiſſion to Mr. Bradſtreet one of our magiſ-

trates

trates, Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton two of our elders to go thither and to endeavour to reconcile them, and if they could not effect that, then to inquire how things ſtood, and to certify us &c. They went accordingly,and finding both ſides to be in fault, at length they brought matters to a peaceable end. Mr. Larkham was releaſed of his excommunication and Capt. Underhill and the reſt from their cenſures, and by occaſion of theſe agitations Mr. Knolles was diſcovered to be an unclean perſon, and to have ſollicited the chaſtity of two maids, his ſervants, and to have uſed filthy dalliance with them, which he acknowledged before the church there, and ſo was diſmiſsed, and removed from Piſcat: This ſin of his was the more notorious, becauſe the fact which was firſt diſcovered, was the ſame night after he had been exhorting the people by reaſons and from ſcripture, to proceed againſt Capt. Underhill for his adultery. And it is very obſervable how God gave up theſe two, and ſome others who had held with Mrs. Hutchinſon, in crying down all evidence from ſanctification &c. to fall into theſe unclean courſes, whereby themſelves and their erroneous opinions were laid open to the world. 1641.

Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton with one of Acomenticus, went from Piſcat: with Mr. Jo. Ward who was to be entertained there for their miniſter; and tho' it be but ſix miles, yet they loſt their way, and wandered two days and one night without food or fire, in the ſnow and wet, but God heard their prayers wherein they earneſtly preſſed him for the honor of his great name, and when they were even quite ſpent, he brought them to the ſea ſide near the place they were to go to, bleſſed forever be his name.

Not long before a godly maid of the church of Linne, going in a deep ſnow from Meadford homeward, was loſt and ſome of her cloaths found after among the rocks.

One Jo. Baker a member of the church of Boſton, removing from thence to Newbury for enlargement of his outward accommodation, being grown wealthy from nothing grew there very diſordered, fell into drunkeneſs and ſuch violent contention with another brother, maintaining the ſame by lying, and other evil courſes, that the magiſtrates ſent to have him apprehended, but he reſcued himſelf out of the officers hands and removed to Acomenticus where he continued near two years, and now at this time he came to Boſton, and humbled himſelf before the

1641. the church confeſſing all his wickedneſs, with many tears, and ſhewing how he had been followed with ſatan, and how he had laboured to pacify his conſcience by ſecret confeſſions to God &c. but could have no peace, yet could not bring his heart to return and make public acknowledgment, untill the hand of God fell upon one Swain his neighbour, who fell into deſpair and would often utter dreadful ſpeeches againſt himſelf, and cry out that he was all on fire under the wrath of God, but would never diſcover any other heinous ſin, but that having gotten about £40. by his labour, he went into England and there ſpent it in wicked company, and ſo continued, and after a ſmall time hanged himſelf. This Baker coming in, and ſeeing him thus dead, was ſo ſtruck with it as he could have no reſt 'till he came and made his peace with the church and court. Upon his confeſſion the church was doubtful whether they ought not to caſt him out, his offences being ſo ſcandalous, notwithſtanding they were well perſuaded of the truth of his repentance: but the judgment of the church was, that ſeeing he had excommunicated himſelf by deſerting the church, and Chriſt had ratified it by giving him up to ſatan, whereby the ordinance had had its proper effect, therefore he ought now to be received and pardoned, whereto the church agreed, Yet this man fell into groſs diſtempers ſoon after.

Mr. Cotton out of that in Revelations 15. none could enter into the temple untill &c. delivered, that neither Jews nor any more of the gentiles ſhould be called untill Antichriſt were deſtroyed, viz. to a church eſtate, tho' here and there a proſelite.

Upon the Lords day at Concord two children were left at home alone, one lying in a cradle, the other having burned a cloth and fearing his mother ſhould ſee it, thruſt it into a hay ſtack by the door (the fire not being quite out) whereby the hay and houſe were burned and the child in the cradle before they came from the meeting. About the ſame time two houſes were burnt at Sudbury.

By occaſion of theſe fires I may add another of a different kind, but of much obſervation. A godly woman of the church of Boſton, dwelling ſometimes in London, brought with her a parcel of very fine linnen of great value, which ſhe ſet her heart too much upon, and had been at charge to have it all newly waſhed and curiouſly folded preſſed, and ſo left it in preſs in her parlour over night:

night: ſhe had a negro maid went into the room very late and let fall ſome ſnuff of the candle upon the linnen, ſo as by the morning all the linnen was burned to tinder, and the boards underneath, and ſome ſtools and a part of the wainſcot burnt, and never perceived by any in the houſe, tho' ſome lodged in the chamber over head, and no ceiling between; but it pleaſed God that the loſs of this linnen did her much good, both in taking off her heart from worldly comforts, and in preparing her for a far greater affliction by the untimely death of her huſband who was ſlain not long after at Iſle of Providence. 1641.

The court of elections, Richard Bellingham, Eſq. choſen Governor. See more a few leaves after. Mo. 4. 2.

This year the two ſhips were finiſhed, one at Salem of 300 tons and another at Boſton of 160 tons.

The parliament of England ſitting upon a general reformation both of church and ſtate, the earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbiſhop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, biſhops and others impriſoned and called to account, this cauſed all men to ſtay in England in expectation of a new world, ſo as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew ſcarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing—a cow which coſt laſt year £20 might now be bought for 4 or £5 &c. and many gone out of the country, ſo as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occaſioned many there to ſpeak evil of us. Theſe ſtreights ſet our people on work to provide fiſh, clapboards, plank &c. and to ſow hemp and flax (which proſpered very well) and to look out to the W. Indies for a trade for cotton. The general court alſo made orders about payment of debts, ſetting corn at the wonted price, and payable for all debts which ſhould ariſe after a time prefixed. They thought fit alſo to ſend ſome choſen men into England to congratulate the happy ſucceſs there, and to ſatisfy our creditors of the true cauſe why we could not make ſo current payment now as in former years we had done, and to be ready to make uſe of any opportunity God ſhould offer for the good of the country here, as alſo to give any advice, as it ſhould be required for the ſettling the right form of church diſcipline there, but with this caution, that they ſhould not ſeek ſupply of our wants in any diſhonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were reſolved to wait upon the Lord in the uſe of all means

which

1641. Mo. 4. which were lawful and humble. The men choſen were Mr. Hugh Peters paſtor of the church in Salem, Mr. Thos. Welde paſtor of the church in Roxbury, and Mr. William Hibbins of Boſton. There being no ſhip which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a paſſage from thence in the fiſhing fleet. They departed hence the 3d of the 6th month, and with them went one of the magiſtrates Mr. Jo. Winthrop, jun. This act of the court did not ſatisfy all the elders, and many others diſliked it, ſuppoſing that it would be conceived we had ſent them on begging, and the church of Salem was unwillingly drawn to give leave to their paſtor to go, for the court was not minded to uſe their power in taking an officer from the church without their conſent, but in the end they and the other churches ſubmitted to the deſire of the court. Theſe with other paſſengers to the number of forty went to Newfoundland, expecting to go from thence in ſome fiſhing ſhips. They arrived there in 14 days, but could not go all together, ſo were forced to divide themſelves and go from ſeveral parts of the iſland, as they could get ſhipping. The miniſters preached to the ſeamen &c. at the iſland, who were much affected with the word taught, and entertained them with all courteſy, as we underſtood by letters from them which came by a fiſhing ſhip to the Iſles of Shoals about the beginning of October.

21 A young man a tanner in Boſton, going to waſh himſelf in a creek, ſaid jeſtingly, I will go and drown myſelf now, which fell out accordingly, for by the ſlipperineſs of the earth, he was carried beyond his depth, and having no ſkill to ſwim, was drowned, tho' company were at hand, and one in the water with him.

Letters came from the Governor &c. of Connecticut for advice about the difference between them and the Dutch. The Dutch Governor had preſſed them hard for his intereſt in all Hartford &c. as far as one might ſee from their houſe, alledging he had purchaſed ſo much of the Pequods, and threatened force of arms. They of the river alledged their purchaſe of other indians, the true owners of the place &c. with other arguments from our patent and that of Say-brook. We returned anſwer without determining of either ſide, but adviſing to a moderate way, as the yielding ſome more land to the Dutch houſe (for they had left them but 30 acres,) but the Dutch would not be thus pacified, but prepared to ſend ſoldiers

to

to be billited at their houſe, but it pleaſed the Lord to diſappoint their purpoſe, for the indians falling out with them, killed four of their men at their fort Orange, whereof three were Engliſh who had gone to dwell among them, whereby they were forced to keep their ſoldiers at home to defend themſelves, and Mr. Peters going for England, and being well acquainted with the chief merchants in Holland, undertook to pacify the W. India company, but for want of commiſſion from thoſe of Hartford, the company there would not treat with him. 1641.

About this time three boys of Summer's iſland ſtole away in an open boat or ſkiff, and having been eight weeks at ſea, their boat was caſt away upon a ſtrand without Long Iſland, and themſelves were ſaved by the indians.

A church being gathered at Providence in the Weſt Indies, and their paſtor Mr. Sherwood and another miniſter being ſent priſoners into England by one Carter the Deputy Governor, the reſt of the church, being but five, wrote to our churches complaining of their perſecution of their magiſtrates and others, and deſiring our prayers and help from us, which moved the churches and magiſtrates more willingly to further thoſe who were already reſolved and preparing for that iſland: whereupon two ſmall veſſels, each of about 30 tons, with divers families and goods, ſo many as they could beſtow, 30 men, 5 women and 8 children ſet ſail for the iſland, and touching at Chriſtophers, they heard that a great fleet of Spaniſh ſhips was abroad, and that it was feared they had taken Providence, ſo as the maſter Mr. Pierce a godly man and moſt expert mariner adviſed them to return, and offered to bear part of the loſs, but they not hearkening to him, he replied, then am I a dead man, and coming to the iſland they marvelled they ſaw no colours upon the fort, nor any boat coming towards them, whereupon he was counſelled to drop an anchor, he liked the advice, but yet ſtood on into the harbour, and after a ſecond advice he ſtill went on, but being come within piſtol ſhot of one fort and hailing, and no anſwer made, he put her back a ſtays, and being upon the deck, which was alſo full of paſſengers, women and children, and hearing one cry out, they are traverſing a piece at us, he threw himſelf in at the door of the cuddy, and one Samuel Wakeman a member of the church of Hartford, who was ſent with goods to buy cotton, caſt himſelf down by him, and preſently a great ſhot took them both. Mr.

1641. Pierce died within an hour, the other having only his thighs tore lived ten days. Mr. Pierce had read to the company that morning (as it fell in courſe) that in Gen. the laſt—Lo I die, but God will ſurely viſit you and bring you back; out of which words he uſed godly exhortations to them. Then they ſhot from all parts about 30 great ſhot beſides ſmall, and tore the ſails and ſhrouds, but hurt not the bark, nor any perſon more in it. The other veſſel was then a league behind, which was marvelled at for ſhe was the better ſailor, and could fetch up the other at pleaſure; but that morning they could not by any means keep company with her. After this the paſſengers being aſhamed to return, would have been ſet on ſhore at Cape Grace de Dros or Florida, or Virginia, but the ſeamen would not, and thro' the wonderful providence of God they came all ſafe home the 3d of 7ber following. This brought ſome of them to ſee their error and acknowledge it in the open congregation, but others were hardened. There was a ſpecial providence in that the miniſters were ſent priſoners into England before the iſland was taken, for otherwiſe it is moſt probable they had been all put to the ſword, becauſe ſome Spaniards had been ſlain there a little before by the deputy governor his command after the Lieut. had received them upon quarter, in an attempt they had made upon the iſland, wherein they were repulſed with the loſs of two or three thouſand men. They took it after and gave the people quarter and ſent them home.

A like providence there was, tho' not ſo ſafe, in that divers godly people in their voyage to the iſland the year before were taken priſoners by the turks and ſo their lives ſaved paying their ranſom.

This year divers families in Linne and Ipſwich having ſent to view Long Iſland, and finding a very commodious place for plantations, but challenged by the Dutch, they treated with the Dutch Governor to take it from them. He offered them very fair terms as that they ſhould have the very ſame liberties both civil and eccleſiaſtical which they enjoyed in the Maſſachuſetts, only liberty for appeal to the Dutch, and after ten years to pay the 10th of their corn. The court were offended at this and ſought to ſtay them, not for going from us, but for ſtrengthening the Dutch our doubtful neighbours, and taking that from them which our King challenged and had granted a patent of, with Martha's Vineyard and other

other iſlands thereby to the earl of Sterling, eſpecially for binding themſelves by an oath of fealty; whereupon divers of the chief being called before the general court in 8ber, and reaſons laid down to diſſuade them, they were convinced and promiſed to deſiſt. 1641.

This ſummer the merchants of Boſton ſet out a veſſel again to the iſle of Sable, with 12 men, to ſtay there a year. They ſent again in the 8th month, and in three weeks the veſſel returned and brought home 400 pr. of ſea horſe teeth which were eſteemed worth £300, and left all the men well and 12 ton of oil and many ſkins which they could not bring away, being put from the iſland in a ſtorm.

I muſt here return to ſupply what was omitted concerning the proceedings of the laſt court of elections. There had been much labouring to have Mr. Bellingham choſen, and when the votes were numbered he had ſix more than the others, but there were divers who had not given in their votes who now came into the court and deſired their liberty which was denied by ſome of the magiſtrates becauſe they had not given them in at the doors. But others thought it was an injury, yet were ſilent, becauſe it concerned themſelves, for the order of giving in their votes at the door was no order of court, but only direction of ſome of the magiſtrates, and without queſtion, if any freeman tender his vote before the election be paſſed and publiſhed, it ought to be received.

Some of the freemen, without the conſent of the magiſtrates or Governor, had choſen Mr. Nathaniel Ward to preach at this court, pretending that it was a part of their liberty. The Governor (whoſe right indeed it is, for 'till the court be aſſembled the freemen are but private perſons) would not ſtrive about it, for though it did not belong to them, yet if they would have it, there was reaſon to yield it to them. Yet they had no great reaſon to chooſe him, tho' otherwiſe very able, ſeeing he had caſt off his paſtor's place at Ipſwich and was now no miniſter, by the received determination of our churches. In his ſermon he delivered many uſeful things, but in a moral and political diſcourſe, grounding his propoſitions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which ſure is an error, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiſer than their neighbours (and theſe times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and obſervation) it is probable that by all

theſe

1641. theſe helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourſelves than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wiſdom, juſtice &c. of thoſe heathen commonwealths. Among other things he adviſed the people to keep all their magiſtrates in an equal rank, and not give more honor or power to one than to another, which is eaſier to adviſe than to prove, ſeeing it is againſt the practice of Iſrael (where ſome were rulers of thouſands, and ſome but of tens) and of all nations known or recorded. Another advice he gave, that magiſtrates ſhould not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cauſe before it came to public hearing. This was debated after in the general court, where ſome of the deputies moved to have it ordered, but it was oppoſed by ſome of the magiſtrates upon theſe reaſons. 1. Becauſe we muſt then provide lawyers to direct men in their cauſes 2. The magiſtrates muſt not grant out original proceſs as now they do, for to what end are they betruſted with this, but that they ſhould take notice of the cauſe of the action, that they might either divert the ſuit, if the cauſe be unjuſt, or direct it in a right courſe if it be good. 3. By this occaſion the magiſtrate hath opportunity to end many differences in a friendly way, without charge to the parties, or trouble to the court. 4. It prevents many difficulties and tedioufneſs to the court to underſtand the cauſe aright (no advocate being allowed, and the parties being not able, for the moſt part to open the cauſe fully and clearly, eſpecially in public.) 5. It is allowed in criminal cauſes and why not in civil. 6. Where it is objected that ſuch magiſtrate is in danger to be prejudiced. Anſwer, If the thing be lawful and uſeful it muſt not be laid aſide for the temptations which are incident to it, for in the leaſt duties men are expoſed to great temptations.

At this court it was ordered that the elders ſhould be deſired to agree upon a form of catechiſm which might be put forth in print.

Offence being taken by many of the people that the court had given Mr. Humphry £250, the deputies moved it might be ordered that the court ſhould not have power to grant any benevolences; but it was conſidered that the court could not deprive itſelf of its honor, and that hereby we ſhould lay a blemiſh upon the court, which might do more hurt to the country by weakening the reputation of the wiſdom and faithfulneſs of the court in the hearts of the people, than the money ſaved would re-

com-

compence, therefore it was thought better to order it by way of declaration, as if it were to deter importunity of ſuitors in this hand, that the court would give no more benevolences 'till our debts were paid, and ſtock in the treaſury, except upon foreign occaſions &c. 1641.

There aroſe a queſtion in the court about the puniſhment of ſingle fornication, becauſe by the law of God, the man was only to marry the maid, or pay a ſum of money to her father; but the caſe falling out between two ſervants, they were whipped for the wrong offered to the maſter in abuſing his houſe, and were not able to make him other ſatisfaction. The like difficulty aroſe about a rape, which was not death by the law of God, but becauſe it was committed by a boy upon a child of 7 or 8 years old, he was ſeverely whipped. Yet it may ſeem by the equity of the law againſt ſodomy, that it ſhould be death, for a man to have carnal copulation with a girl ſo young, as there can be no poſſibility of generation, for it is againſt nature as well as ſodomy and buggery.

At this court the gentlemen who had the two patents of Dover ſtrawberry bank at Piſcat: in the name of the lords and theſe, granted all their intereſt of juriſdiction &c. to our court, reſerving the moſt of the land to themſelves; whereupon a commiſſion was granted to Mr. Bradford and Mr. Simonds with two or three of Piſcat: to call a court there and aſſemble the people to take their ſubmiſſion &c. but Mr. Humphry, Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton had been ſent before to underſtand the minds of the people, to reconcile ſome differences between them, and to prepare them. See more.

Mrs. Hutchinſon and thoſe of Aquiday iſland broached new hereſies every year. Divers of them turned profeſſed anabaptiſts, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magiſtracy among chriſtians, and maintained that there were no churches ſince thoſe founded by the apoſtles and evangeliſts, nor could any be, nor any paſtors ordained, nor ſeals adminiſtered but by ſuch, and that the church was to want theſe all the time ſhe continued in the wilderneſs, as yet ſhe was. Her ſon Francis and her ſon in law Mr. Collins (who was driven from Barbadoes where he had preached a time and done ſome good, but ſo ſoon as he came to her was infected with her hereſies) came to Boſton and were there ſent for to come before the Governor and council, but they refuſed to come except they were brought, ſo the officer led him, and being come

(there

1641. (there were divers of the elders preſent) he was charged with a letter he had written to ſome in our juriſdiction, wherein he charged all our churches and miniſters to be antichriſtian, and many other reproachful ſpeeches, terming our king, king of Babylon, and ſought to poſſeſs the people's hearts with evil thoughts of our government and of our churches &c. He acknowledged the letter, and maintained what he had written, yet ſought to evade the confeſſing there was a true magiſtracy in the world and that chriſtians muſt be ſubject to it. He maintained alſo that there were no gentile churches (as he termed them) ſince the apoſtles times, and that none now could ordain miniſters &c. Francis Hutchinſon did agree with him in ſome of theſe, but not reſolutely in all; but he had reviled the church of Boſton (being then a member of it) calling her a ſtrumpet. They were both committed to priſon; and it fell out that one Stoddard, being then one of the conſtables of Boſton, was required to take Francis Hutchinſon into his cuſtody 'till the afternoon, and ſaid withal to the Governor, ſir, I came to obſerve what you did, that if you ſhould proceed with a brother otherwiſe than you ought, I might deal with you in a church way. For this inſolent behaviour he was committed, but being dealt with by the elders and others, he came to ſee his error, which was that he did conceive that the magiſtrate ought not to deal with a member of the church before the church had proceeded with him. So the next Lord's day in the open aſſembly, he did freely and very affectionately confeſs his error and his contempt of authority, and being bound to appear at the next court he did the like there to the ſatisfaction of all; yet for example's ſake he was fined 20*ſ.* which, tho' ſome of the magiſtrates would have had it much leſs, or rather remitted, ſeeing his clear repentance and ſatisfaction in public left no poiſon or danger in his example, nor had the commonwealth or any perſon ſuſtained danger by it. At the ſame court Mr. Collins was fined £100 and Francis Hutchinſon £50 and to remain in priſon 'till they gave ſecurity for it. We aſſeſſed the fines the higher, partly that by occaſion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept cloſe priſoners) and alſo becauſe that family had put the country to ſo much charge in the ſynod and other occaſions to the value of £500 at leaſt: but after, becauſe the winter drew on, and the priſon was inconvenient, we abated them to £40 and £20.

£20—but they ſeemed not willing to pay any thing. 1642.
They refuſed to come to the church aſſemblies except they were led, and ſo they came duly. At laſt we took their own bonds for their fine, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

Other troubles aroſe in the iſland by reaſon of one Ni: Eaſon, a tanner, a man very bold, tho' ignorant, he uſing to teach at Newport where Mr. Coddington their Governor lived, maintained that man hath no power or will in himſelf, but as he is acted by God, and that ſeeing God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and ſo he muſt needs be the author of ſin &c. and that a chriſtian is united to the eſſence of God. Being ſhewed what blaſphemous conſequences would follow hereupon, they profeſſed to abhor the conſequences, but ſtill defended the propoſitions, which diſcovered their ignorance, not apprehending how God could make a creature as it were in himſelf, and yet no part of his eſſence, as we ſee by familiar inſtances. The light is in the air, and in every part of it, yet it is not air, but a diſtinct thing from it. There joined with Ni: Eaſon Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeſhall and ſome others, but their miniſter Mr. Clark and Mr. Lenthall and Mr. Harding and ſome others diſſented and publickly oppoſed, whereby it grew to ſuch heat of contention, that it made a ſchiſm among them.

Capt. Underhill coming to Boſton was preſently ap- Mo. 7.
prehended by the Governor's warrant to appear at the next court, and bound for his good behaviour in the mean time, which was ill taken by many, ſeeing he did not ſtand preſented by any man, and had been reconciled to the church and to the court who had remitted his ſentence of baniſhment, and ſhewed their willingneſs to have pardoned him fully, but for fear offence. And it was held by ſome of the magiſtrates that the court, having reverſed the ſentence againſt him for former miſdemeanors, had implicitly pardoned all other miſdemeanors before that time, and his adultery was no more than but a miſdemeanor; but to bind a man to his good behaviour when he ſtands reconciled to the church and commonwealth was certainly an error, as it was alſo to commit ſuch an one, being not preſented nor accuſed. So eaſily may a magiſtrate be miſled on the right hand by the ſecret whiſperings of ſuch as pretend a zeal of juſtice and the puniſhment of ſin. The Governor cauſed him to be indicted at the next court, but he was acquitted by proclamation.

It

1641. Mo.7.11. It being court time, about 7 or 8 in the evening there appeared to the ſouthward a great light, about 30 or 40 feet in length; it went very ſwift, and continued about a minute. It was obſerved by many in the bay and at Plimouth and New-Haven &c. and it ſeemed to all to be in the ſame poſition.

15 A great training at Boſton two days. About 1200 men were exerciſed in moſt ſorts of land ſervice; yet it was obſerved that there was no man drunk, tho' there was plenty of wine and ſtrong beer in the town—not an oath ſworn—no quarrel, nor any hurt done.

The parliament in England falling ſo readily to reform all public grievances, ſome of our people being then in London, prefered a petition to the lords houſe for redreſs of that reſtraint which had been put upon ſhips and paſſengers to N. England, whereupon an order was made that we ſhould enjoy all our liberties &c. according to our patent, whereby our patent which had been condemned and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a *quo warranto* was now implicitly received and confirmed. This petition was preferred without warrant from our court.

(7) 2. A day of thankſgiving was kept in all our churches for the good ſucceſs of the parliament in England.

This year men followed the fiſhing ſo well that there was about 300,000 dry fiſh ſent to the market.

The lords and gentlemen that had two patents at Piſcat: finding no means to govern the people there, nor to reſtrain them from ſpoiling their timber &c. agreed to aſſign their intereſt to us (reſerving the greateſt part of the propriety of their lands.) So commiſſioners being ſent thither, the whole river agreed to come under our juriſdiction under two propoſitions. 1. If we took them in upon a voluntary ſubmiſſion, then they would have liberty to chooſe their own magiſtrates &c. 2. If we took them in as being within the line of our patent, they would then ſubmit to be as Ipſwich and Salem &c. and would have ſuch liberties for ſelling timber &c. as they had enjoyed &c. and ſo referred it to the next general court; and to have courts there as Ipſwich and Salem had. And accordingly at the general court in the 3d Mo. next, they ſent two deputies, who being members of the church there, were ſworn freemen, and order made for giving the oath to others at their own court—the like liberty to other courts for eaſe of the people.

Mo. 9. 8. Mons'r. Rochell, a Rocheller and a proteſtant come from

from Mons'r La Tour, planted upon St. John's river up the great bay on this ſide Cape Sable. He brought no letters with him but only letters from Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, where he left his men and boat. He propounded to us 1. liberty of free commerce. This was granted. 2. Aſſiſtance againſt D. Aulne of Penobſcott whom he had war with. 3. That he might make return of goods out of England by our merchants. In theſe two we excuſed any treaty with him, as having no letter or commiſſion from La Tour. He was courteouſly entertained here, and after a few days departed. 1641.

Query, whether the following be fit to be publiſhed. (9)

The Governor Mr. Bellingham was married, (I would not mention ſuch ordinary matters in our hiſtory, but by occaſion of ſome remarkable accidents. The young gentlewoman was ready to be contracted to a friend of his who lodged in his houſe, and by his conſent had proceeded ſo far with her, when on the ſudden the Governor treated with her, and obtained her for himſelf. He excuſed it by the ſtrength of his affection, and that ſhe was not abſolutely promiſed to the other gentleman. Two errors more he committed upon it. 1. That he would not have his contract publiſhed where he dwelt, contrary to an order of court. 2. That he married himſelf, contrary to the conſtant practice of the country. The great inqueſt preſented him for breach of the order of court, and at the court following in the 4th Month, the ſecretary called him to anſwer the proſecution, but he not going off the bench as the manner was, and but few of the magiſtrates preſent, he put it off to another time, intending to ſpeak with him privately, and with the reſt of the magiſtrates about the caſe, and accordingly he told him the reaſon why he did not proceed, viz. being unwilling to command him publicly to go off the bench, and yet not thinking it fit he ſhould ſit as a judge when he was by law to anſwer as an offender. This he took ill, and ſaid he would not go off the bench except he were commanded.

Archibald Thomſon. of Marblehead carrying dung to his garden in a canoe upon the Lord's day, in fair weather and ſtill water, it ſunk under him in the harbour near the ſhores and he was never ſeen after.

One Knore of Charleſtown coming down Miſtick in a ſmall boat laden with wood was found dead in it—a good

1641. caveat for men not to go ſingle in boats in ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, for it was very ſtormy weather.

(9) 12. A great tempeſt of wind and rain from the S.E. all the night, as fierce as an hurricane. It continued very violent at N.W. all the day after. Divers boats and one bark were caſt away in the harbour but (which was a wonder to all) no dwelling houſe blown down, nor any perſon killed; and the day after it came to S.E. again, and continued all the night with much wind and rain; and thereupon (it being about the new moon) followed the higheſt tide which we had ſeen ſince our arrival here.

The ſummer paſt was very cool and wet ſo as much indian corn never ripened, tho' ſome ſtood 'till the 20th of this month. It was obſerved that people who fed upon that corn were extraordinarily infected with worms in their bodies all the year following, which in ſome was well prevented by leaving their bread and feeding upon ſalt fiſh.

The Charles of Dartmouth of 400 tons, lying at Piſcat: to take in pipe ſtaves, was forced from her anchors in the laſt tempeſt and driven upon the rocks; yet all her maſts were before taken down to be new maſted. There rode by her a ſmall ſhip which was ſafe. This ſmall ſhip was before deſpiſed by the men of the greater, and they would needs unrig their ſhip upon the Lord's day, tho' they were admoniſhed not to do it. In the ſame great tempeſt a ſhallop of 3 tons rode it out all night at the head of Cape Anne, and came in ſafe after.

Mr. Stephen Batchellor the paſtor of the church at Hampton, who had ſuffered much at the hands of the biſhops in England, being about 80 years of age, and having a luſty comely woman to his wife, did ſolicit the chaſtity of his neighbour's wife, who acquainted her huſband therewith; whereupon he was dealt with, but denied it, as he had told the woman he would do, and complained to the magiſtrates againſt the woman and her huſband for ſlandering him. The church likewiſe dealing with him, he ſtiffly denied it, but ſoon after when the Lord's ſupper was to be adminiſtered, he did voluntarily confeſs the attempt, and that he did intend to have defiled her if ſhe would have conſented. The church being moved with his free confeſſion and tears, ſilently forgave him, and communicated with him: but after, finding how ſcandalous it was, they took advice of other elders, and after long

long debate and much pleading and ſtanding upon the church's forgiving and being reconciled to him in communicating with him after he had confeſſed it, they proceeded to caſt him out. After this he went on in a variable courſe, ſometimes ſeeming very penitent, ſoon after again excuſing himſelf, and caſting blame upon others, eſpecially his fellow elder Mr, Dalton, (who indeed had not carried himſelf in this cauſe ſo well as became him, and was brought to ſee his failing, and acknowledged it to the elders of the other churches who had taken much pains about this matter) ſo he behaved himſelf to the elders when they dealt with him. He was off and on for a long time, and when he had ſeemed moſt penitent, ſo as the church were ready to have received him in again, he would fall back again, and as it were repent of his repentance. In this time his houſe, and near all his ſubſtance was conſumed by fire. When he had continued excommunicated near two years, and much agitation had been about the matter, and the church being divided, ſo as he could not be received in at length, the matter was referred to ſome magiſtrates and elders, and by their mediation he was releaſed of his excommunication, but not received to his paſtor's office. Upon occaſion of this meeting for mediation, Mr. Wilſon paſtor of Boſton wrote this letter to him, (the letter is worthy inſerting.) 1641.

[*The lettter is not in the manuſcript.* Edit.]

The general court held in the 10th month paſt was full of uncomfortable agitations and contentions. The principal occaſion (for hiſtory muſt tell the whole truth) was from the Governor, who being a gentleman of good repute in England for wiſdom and godlineſs, finding now that ſome other of the magiſtrates bare more ſway with the people than himſelf, and that they were called to be of the ſtanding council for life, and himſelf paſſed by, was ſo taken with an evil ſpirit of emulation and jealouſy (thro' his melancolic diſpoſition) as he ſet himſelf in an oppoſite frame to them in all proceedings, which did much retard all buſineſs, and was occaſion of grief to many godly minds, and matter of reproach to the whole court in the mouths of others, and brought himſelf low in the eyes of thoſe with whom formerly he had been in honor. Some inſtances I will give.

There fell out a caſe between Mr. Dudly one of the council, and Mr. Howe a ruling elder of the church of Wa-

1641. Watertown about a title to a mill. The caſe is too long here to report, but it was ſo clear on Mr. Dudley's part both in law and equity (moſt of the magiſtrates alſo and deputies concurring therein) as the elders, being deſired to be preſent at the hearing of the caſe, they alſo conſented with the judgement of the court, before the caſe was put to vote,—and ſome of them humbly adviſed the court that it would be greatly to their diſhonor and an apparent injuſtice, if they ſhould otherwiſe determine: notwithſtanding, he ſtill laboured to have the cauſe carried againſt Mr. Dudley—reproved ſome of the elders for their faithful advice—took upon him to anſwer all the arguments, but ſo weakly as many were aſhamed at it, and in reading an order of court whereupon the iſſue of the caſe chiefly depended. he ſought to help himſelf by ſuch unworthy ſhifts, as interpreting ſome things againſt the very letter and common ſenſe, wholly omitting the moſt material part &c.—refuſing to put things to the vote that made againſt his purpoſe &c. that all might ſee by what ſpirit he was led.

Another caſe fell out about Mr. Maverick of Nottles iſland who had been formerly fined, £100 for giving entertainment to Mr. Owen and one Hale's wife who had eſcaped out of priſon where they had been put for notorious ſuſpicion of adultery, as ſhall after be ſhewed. The court upon his petition had referred it to the uſual committee who made return that their opinion was, the court might do well to remit it to £60 which he knew would pleaſe ſome of the council well, who had often declared their judgment that fines ſhould be ſo impoſed as they might upon occaſion be moderated. So when the petition was returned to him he takes it and alters the ſum from £60 to £80 without acquainting the court therewith, nor would ſay that he had done it when the committee informed the court of the alteration, before the ſecretary charged him with it. Then he ſaid he did it in jeſt, and when the ſecretary ſaid he had reformed it, and the court called to have it put to the vote, he refuſed, and ſtirred up much heat and contention about it, ſo in the end the court required the deputy to put it to the vote.

Upon theſe and other miſcarriages the deputies conſulted together, and ſent up their ſpeaker, with ſome others, to give him a ſolemn admonition, which was never

never done to any Governor before, nor was it in their power without the magiſtrates had joined. 1641.

Theſe continual oppoſitions and delays tending to the hindrance and perverting of juſtice, afforded much occaſion of grief to all the magiſtrates, eſpecially to Mr. Dudley, who being a very wiſe and juſt man, and one that would not be trodden under foot of any man, took occaſion (alledging his age &c.) to tell the court that he was reſolved to leave his place, and therefore deſired them againſt the next court of elections to think of ſome other. The court was much affected with it, and intreated him, with manifeſtation of much affection and reſpect towards him to leave off theſe thoughts, and offered him any eaſe and liberty that his age and infirmities might ſtand in need of, but he continued reſolute. Thereupon the Governor alſo made a ſpeech, as if he deſired to leave his place of magiſtracy alſo, but he was fain to make his own anſwer, for no man deſired him to keep, or to conſider better of it.

This ſeſſion continued three weeks, and eſtabliſhed 100 laws, which were called the *Body of Liberties*. They had been compoſed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (ſometime paſtor of the church of Ipſwich: he had been a miniſter in England, and formerly a ſtudent and practiſer in the courſe of the common law) and had been reviſed and altered by the court, and ſent forth into every town to be further conſidered of, and now again this court, they were reviſed, amended and preſented, and ſo eſtabliſhed for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and eſtabliſhed to be perpetual.

At this ſeſſion Mr. Hathorn one of the deputies, and uſually one of their ſpeakers, made a motion to ſome other of the deputies of leaving out two of their ancienteſt magiſtrates, becauſe they were grown poor, and ſpake reproachfully of them under that motion. This coming to Mr. Cotton his knowledge, he took occaſion from his text the next lecture day, to confute, and ſharply (in his mild manner) to reprove ſuch miſcarriage, which he termed a ſlighting or dishonoring of parents, and told the country that ſuch as were decayed in their eſtates by attending the ſervice of the country ought to be maintained by the country, and not ſet aſide for their poverty, being otherwiſe ſo well gifted, and approved by long experience to be faithful. This public reproof gave ſuch a check to the former motion as it was never revived after

1641. after, yet by what followed it appeared that the fire from which it brake out, was only raked up, not quenched, as will be ſhewed anon.

Mr. Hathorn and ſome others were very very earneſt to have ſome certain penalty ſet upon lying, ſwearing &c. which the deputy and ſome other of the magiſtrates oppoſed, (not diſliking to have laws made againſt theft or any other offences but in reſpect of the certain puniſhment) whereupon Mr. Hathorn charged him with ſeeking to have the government arbitrary &c. and the matter grew to ſome heat, for the deputy was a wiſe and a ſtout gentleman, and knew Mr. Hathorn his neighbour well, but the ſtrife ſoon fell, and there was no more ſpoken of it that court. Yet this gave occaſion to ſome of the magiſtrates to prepare ſome arguments againſt the courſe intended, of bringing all puniſhments to a certainty. The ſcope of theſe reaſons was to make good this propoſition, viz. All puniſhments except ſuch as are made certain in the law of God or are not ſubject to variation by merit of circumſtances, ought to be left arbitrary to the wiſdom of the judges.

Reaſon 1. God hath left a pattern hereof in his word where ſo few penalties are preſcribed, and ſo many referred to the judges; and God himſelf varieth the puniſhments of the ſame offences as the offences vary in their circumſtances; as in manſlaughter, in the caſe of a riotous ſon proving incorrigible, in the ſame ſin aggravated by preſumptuous theft &c. which are not only rules in theſe particular caſes, but to guide the judges by proportion in all other caſes, as upon the law of adultery, it may be a queſtion whether Bathſheba ought to die by that law, in regard of the great temptation, and the command and power of the kings of Iſrael. So that which was capital in the men of Jabeſh Gilead, Judges in not coming up to the princes upon proclamation, was but confiſcation of goods &c. in Ezra 10. 8. See 2d Sam. 14. 6. 11.

Reaſon 2. All puniſhments ought to be juſt, and offenses varying ſo much in their merit by occaſion of circumſtances, it would be unjuſt to inflict the ſame puniſhment upon the leaſt as upon the greateſt.

3. Juſtice requireth that every cauſe ſhould be heared before it be judged, which cannot be when the ſentence and puniſhment is determined before hand.

4. Such parts and gifts as the word of God requires in

in a judge, were not ſo neceſſary if all puniſhments were determined beforehand. 1641.

5. God hath not confined all wiſdom &c. to any one generation that they ſhould ſet rules for all others to walk by.

6. It is againſt reaſon that ſome men ſhould better judge of the merit of a cauſe in the bare theory thereof, than others (as wiſe and godly) ſhould be able to diſcern of it *pro re nata*.

7. Difference of times, places &c. may aggravate or extenuate ſome offences.

8. We muſt truſt God, who can and will provide as wiſe and righteous judgment for his people in time to come; as in the preſent or forepaſſed times; and we ſhould not attempt the limiting of his providence, and fruſtrating the gifts of others by determining all puniſhments &c.

In theft and ſome other caſes, as caſes capital, God hath preſcribed a certain puniſhment. Ob.

Ans. 1. In theft &c. the law reſpects the damage and injury of the party, which is ſtill one and the ſame, tho' circumſtances may aggravate or extenuate the ſin. 2. In capital caſes death is appointed as the higheſt degree of puniſhment which man's juſtice can reach.

Then we might as well leave all laws arbitrary at the diſcretion of the judge. Ob.

Ans. 1. The reaſon is not like. 1. God gave a certain law where he left the puiſhment arbitrary, ſo as we have a clear rule to guide the law where the puniſhment may be uncertain. The varying of the offence in the circumſtances doth not vary the ground or equity of the law, nor the nature of the guilt, as it doth the meaſure of the reward. He is as freely guilty of theft who ſteals a loaf of bread for his hunger, as he that ſteals an horſe for his pleaſure.

The ſtatutes in England ſet down a certain penalty for moſt offences. Ans. 1. We are not bound to make ſuch examples ourſelves. 2. The penalty, commonly, is not ſo much as the leaſt degree of that offence deſerves: 12d for an oath, 5s for drunkenneſs &c. Ob.

Thoſe of Providence, being all anabaptiſts, were divided in judgment; ſome were only againſt baptizing of infants; others denied all magiſtracy and churches &c. of which Gorton, who had lately been whipped at Aquiday as is before mentioned, was their inſtructor and captain. Theſe being two ſtrong for the other party, provoked Mo. 11.

1641. voked them by injuries, ſo as they came armed into the field, each againſt other, but Mr. Williams pacified them for the preſent. This occaſioned the weaker party to write a letter under all their hands, to our Governor and magiſtrates, complaining of the wrongs they ſuffered, and deſiring aid, or if not that, counſel from us. We anſwered them that we could not levy any war &c. with a general court. For counſel we told them, that except they did ſubmit themſelves to ſome juriſdiction, either Plimouth or our's, we had no calling or warrant to interpoſe in their contentions, but if they were once ſubject to any, then they had a calling to protect them. After this anſwer we heard no more from them for a time.

The froſt was ſo great and continual this winter that all the bay was frozen over, ſo much and ſo long, as the like, by the indians relation, had not been theſe 40 years, and it continued from the 18th of this month, to the 21ſt of the 12th month; ſo as horſe and carts went over in many places where ſhips have ſailed. Capt. Gibons and his wife with divers on foot by them, came riding from his farm at Pullen point, right over to Boſton the 17th of the 12th mo. when it had thawed ſo much as the water was above the ice half a foot in ſome places; and they paſſed with loads of wood and ſix oxen from muddy river to Boſton, and when it thawed it removed great rocks of above a ton or more weight, and brought them on ſhore. The ſnow likewiſe was very deep eſpecially northward about Acomenticus above three feet, and much more beyond. It was frozen alſo to ſea ſo far as one could well diſcern.

To the ſouthward alſo the froſt was as great and the ſnow as deep, and at Virginia itſelf the great bay was much of it frozen over, and all their great rivers, ſo as they loſt much cattle for want of hay, and moſt of their ſwine.

There was a ſhallop with eight men to go from Piſcat: to Pemaquid about the beginning of the froſt, they would needs ſet forth upon the Lord's day, tho' forewarned &c. They were taken with a N.W. tempeſt and put to ſea about 14 days: at length they recovered Monhigen. Four of them died with cold, the reſt were diſcovered by a fiſherman a good time after and ſo brought off the iſland.

There was great fear leſt much hurt might have been done

done upon the breaking up of the froſt (men and beaſts were grown ſo cold) but by the good providence of God, not one perſon miſcarried ſave one Warde of Salem, an honeſt young man, who going to ſhew a traveller the ſafeſt paſſage over the river, as he thought, by the ſalthouſe, fell in, and tho' he had a pitch fork in his hand, yet was preſently carried under the ice by the tide. The traveller fell in with one leg while he went to help the other, but God preſerved him. He had about him all the letters from England which were brought in a ſhip newly arrived at the iſle of ſhoals, which ſure were the occaſion of God's preſerving him, more than any goodneſs of the man. Moſt of the bridges were broken down and divers mills. 1641.

About this time one Turner of Charleſtown a man of about 50 years of age, having led a looſe and diſorderly life, and being wounded in conſcience at a ſermon of Mr. Shepherd's, he kept it in and did not diſcover his diſtreſs to ſuch as might have offered him help &c. nor did attend upon the public means as he ought to have done, and after a good ſpace he went out from his wife on the Lord's day at night, having kept at home all that day, and drowned himſelf in a little pit where was not above two feet water.

At New Haven there was a ſow which among other pigs had one without hair, and ſome other human reſemblances, it had alſo one eye blemiſhed, juſt like one eye of a looſe fellow in the town, which occaſioned him to be ſuſpected, and being examined before the magiſtrates, he confeſſed the fact, for which, after they had written to us, and ſome other places for advice, they put him to death.

Three men coming in a ſhallop from Brantree, the wind taking them ſhort at Caſtle iſland, one of them ſtepping forward to hand the ſail, cauſed a fowling piece with a french lock, which lay in the boat, to go off. The whole charge went through the thigh of one man within one inch of his belly, yet miſſed the bone, then the ſhot (being gooſe ſhot) ſcattered a little and ſtruck the 2d man under his right ſide upon his breaſt, ſo as above 40 ſhot entered his body, many into the capacity of his breaſt. The 3d man being now only able to ſteer, but not to get home the boat, it pleaſed God the wind favored him ſo as he did fetch the Governor's garden, and there being a ſmall boat and men at that time, they brought them to Boſton before they were too far ſpent with cold and pain,

1642. and beyond all expectation, they were both ſoon perfectly recovered, yet he who was ſhot in the breaſt fell into a fever and ſpit blood.

One Jo. Turner a merchant's factor of London had gone from hence to the W. Indies the year before in a ſmall pinnace of 15 tons and returned with great advantage in indigo, pieces of 8 &c. He ſaid he got them by trade, but it was ſuſpected he got them by prize. He prepared a bigger veſſel and well manned in the beginning of winter, and putting to ſea was forced in again three times. 1. by a leak. 2. by contrary wind, and 3. he ſpent his maſt in fair weather, and having gotten a new at Cape Anne, and towing it towards the bay, he loſt it by the way, and ſo by theſe occaſions and by the froſt, he was kept in all winter: thereupon he gave over his voyage and went to Virginia and there ſold his veſſel and ſhipped himſelf and his commodities in a dutch ſhip for the W. Indies.

Mo.1.27. Mr. William Aſpenwall who had been baniſhed, as is before declared, for joining with Mr. Wheelwright, being licenſed by the general court to come and tender his ſubmiſſion &c. was this day reconciled to the church of Boſton. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and ſeducement, and that with much deteſtation of his ſin. The like he did after, before the magiſtrates, who were appointed by the court to take his ſubmiſſion, and upon their certificate thereof at the next general court, his ſentence of baniſhment was releaſed.

It is obſervable how the Lord doth honor his people and juſtify their ways even before the heathen when their proceedings are true and juſt, as appears by this inſtance. Thoſe at New-Haven intending a plantation at Delaware, ſent ſome men to purchaſe a large portion of land of the indians there, but they refuſed to deal with them. It ſo fell out that a Pequod ſachem (being fled his country in our war with them, and having ſeated himſelf with his company upon that river ever ſince,) was accidentally there at that time, he taking notice of the Engliſh and their deſire, perſuaded the other ſachem to deal with them, and told him that howſoever they had killed his countrymen and driven him out, yet they were honeſt men, and had juſt cauſe to do as they did, for the Pequods had done them wrong, and refuſed to give ſuch reaſonable ſatisfaction as was demanded of them: whereupon the

the ſachem entertained them and let them have what land they deſired. 1642.

A general faſt was kept for our native country and Ireland, and our own occaſions. 2. 14.

The ſpring began very early, and the weather was very mild, but the 3d and 4th month proved very wet and cold, ſo that the low meadows were much ſpoiled, and at Connecticut they had ſuch a flood as brake their bridges and killed all their winter corn, and forced them to plant much of their indian over.

The laſt winter divers veſſels were caſt away to the ſouthward, one at Long-Iſland, wherein 8 or 9 perſons were drowned. Theſe were looſe people who lived by trucking with the indians.

The ſhip Eleanor of London, one Mr. Jugle maſter, arrived at Boſton. She was laden with tobacco from Virginia, and having been about 14 days at ſea, ſhe was taken with ſuch a tempeſt, as tho' all her ſails were down and made up, yet they were blown from the yards, and ſhe was laid only on one ſide 2½ hours, ſo low as the water ſtood upon her deck, and the ſea over-raking her continually, and the day was as dark as if it had been night, and tho' they had cut her maſts, yet ſhe righted not 'till the tempeſt aſſwaged. She ſtaid here 'till the 4. of the (4) and was well fitted with maſts, ſails, rigging and victuals at ſuch reaſonable rates as the maſter was much affected with his entertainment, and profeſsed that he never found the like uſage in Virginia where he had traded theſe ten years. Mo.3.9.

Capt. Underhill finding no employment here that would maintain him and his family, and having good offers made him by the Dutch Governor (he ſpeaking the Dutch tongue and his wife a Dutch woman) had been with the Governor, and being returned deſired the church's leave to depart. The church underſtanding that the Engliſh at Stamford near the Dutch, had offered him employment and maintenance (after their ability) adviſed him rather to go thither ſeeing they were our countrymen and in a church eſtate. He accepted this advice. His wife being more forward to this conſented, and the church furniſhed him out, and provided a pinnace to tranſport him; but when he came there he changed his mind, or at leaſt his courſe, and went to the Dutch.

The court of elections was. Mr. Winthrop was again choſen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Dep. Governor. 18

This

1642. This being done, Mr. Dudley went away, and though he were choſen an aſſiſtant, yet he would not accept it. Some of the elders went to his houſe to deal with him, his anſwer was, that he had ſufficient reaſons to excuſe and warrant his refuſal, which he did not think fit to publiſh, but he would impart to any one or two of them whom they ſhould appoint, which he did accordingly. The elders acquainted the court with what they had done, but not with the reaſons of his refuſal, only that they thought them not ſufficicent. The court ſent a magiſtrate and two deputies to deſire him to come to the court, for as a counſellor he was to aſſiſt in the general court. The next day he came, and after ſome excuſe he conſented to accept the place, ſo that the court would declare that if at any time he ſhould depart out of the juriſdiction (which he profeſſed he did not intend) no oath, either of officer, counſellor or aſſiſtant ſhould hold him in any bond which he ſtood. He deſired not for his own ſatisfaction, but that it might be a ſatisfaction to others who might ſcruple his liberty herein. After much debate the court made a general order which gave him ſatisfaction.

One Mr. Blinman a miniſter in Wales, a godly and able man, come over with ſome friends of his, and being invited to Green's harbour near Plimouth, they went thither, but 'ere the year was expired, there fell out ſome difference among them, which by no means could be reconciled, ſo as they agreed to part, and he came with his company and ſat down at Cape Anne which at this court was eſtabliſhed to be a plantation, and called Gloceſter.

A book was brought into the court wherein the inſtitution of the ſtanding council was pretended to be a ſinful innovation. The Governor moved to have the contents of the book examined, and then, if there appeared cauſe, to inquire after the author. But the greateſt part of the court having ſome intimation of the author, of whoſe honeſt intentions they were well perſuaded, would not conſent, only they permitted it to be read, but not to be ſpoken unto, but would have inquiry firſt made how it came into the court: where upon it was found to have been made by Mr. Saltonſtall one of the aſſiſtants, and by him ſent to Mr. Hathorn (then a deputy of the court) to be tendred to the court, if he ſhould approve of it. Mr. Hathorn did not acquaint the court with it, but delivered

livered it to one of the freemen to conſider of, with whom it remained about half a year 'till he delivered it to Mr. Dudley. This diſcovery being made, the Governor moved again that the matter of the book might be conſidered, but the court could not agree to it except Mr. Saltonſtall were firſt acquit from any cenſure concerning the ſaid book. This was thought to be a courſe out of all order, and upon that ſome paſſages very offenſive and unwarrantable were mentioned, about which alſo the court being divided, the Governor moved to take the advice of the elders concerning the ſoundneſs of the propoſitions and arguments. This the court would not allow neither, except the whole cauſe were referred alſo, which he thought ſure they would have accepted, for the cauſe being of a civil nature, it belonged to the court, and not to the elders, to judge of the merit thereof. In the end, a day or two after, when no further proceeding was otherwiſe like to be had, it was agreed, that in regard the court was not jealous of any evil intention in Mr. Saltonſtall &c. and that when he did write and deliver it (as was ſuppoſed) there was an order in force which gave liberty to every freeman to conſider and deliver their judgments to the next court about ſuch fundamental laws as were then to be eſtabliſhed (whereof one did concern the inſtitution and power of the council) therefore he ſhould be diſcharged from any cenſure or further enquiry about the ſame, which was voted accordingly, altho' there were ſome expreſſions in the book which would not be warranted by that order, as that the council was inſtituted unwarily to ſatisfy Mr. Vane's deſire &c. whereas it was well known to many in the court, as themſelves affirmed, that it was upon the advice and ſolicitation of the elders and after much deliberation from court to court. Other paſſages there were alſo which were very unſound, reproachful and dangerous, and was manifeſted by an anſwer made thereunto by Mr. Dudley, and received at the next ſeſſion of the court; and by ſome obſervations made by Mr. Norris, a grave and judicious elder, teacher of the church in Salem (and with ſome difficulty read alſo in court) who not ſuſpecting the author, handled him ſomewhat ſharply accordingly to the merit of the matter. 1642.

This ſummer three ſhips were new built, one at Boſton and one at Dorcheſter, and one at Salem.

A cooper's wife of Hingham having been long in a ſad me-

1642. melancholic diſtemper near to phrenzy, and having formerly attempted to drown her child, but prevented by God's gracious providence, did now again take an opportunity, being alone, to carry her child, aged three years, to a creek near her houſe, and ſtripping it of the cloaths, threw it into the water and mud, but the tide being low, the little child ſcrambled out, and taking up its cloaths, came to its mother who was ſet down not far off, ſhe carried the child again, and threw it in ſo far as it could not get out, but then it pleaſed God that a young man coming that way, ſaved it. She would give no other reaſon of it, but that ſhe did it to ſave it from miſery, and withal that ſhe was aſſured ſhe had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe could not repent of any ſin. Thus doth ſatan work by the advantage of our infirmities, which ſhould ſtir us up to cleave the more faſt to Chriſt Jeſus, and to walk the more humbly and watchfully in all our converſation.

At this general court appeared one Richard Gibſon a ſcholar, ſent ſome three or four years ſince to Richman's iſland to be a miniſter to a fiſhing plantation there belonging to one Mr. Tretaway of Plimouth in England. He removed from thence to Piſcat: and this year was entertained by the fiſhermen at the Iſle of ſholes to preach to them. He being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and diſcipline of England, did exerciſe a miniſterial function in the ſame way, and did marry and baptize at the Iſle of Sholes which was now found to be within our juriſdiction. This man being incenſed againſt Mr. Larkham paſtor of the church at Northam (late Dover) for ſome ſpeeches he delivered in his ſermon againſt ſuch hirelings &c. he ſent an open letter to him, wherein he did ſcandalize our government, oppoſe our title to thoſe parts, and provoke the people, by way of arguments, to revolt from us (this letter being ſhewed to many before it came to Mr. Larkham.) Mr. Gibſon being now ſhewed this letter, and charged with his offence, he could not deny the thing, whereupon he was committed to the marſhall. In a day or two after he preferred a petition, which gave not ſatisfaction, but the next day he made a full acknowledgment of all he was charged with, and the evil thereof, ſubmitting himſelf to the favor of the court. Whereupon, in regard he was a ſtranger, and was to depart the country within a few days, he was diſcharged without any fine or other puniſhment.

One

One Nath: Briſtoe a godly young man, newly admitted a member of the church of Boſton, being ſingle, he kept with his father a godly poor man, but minded his own advantage more than his father's neceſſity, ſo as that his father, deſiring in the evening to have his help the next day, he neglected his father's requeſt, and roſe very early next morning to go help another man for wages, and being loading a boat in a ſmall creek, he fell into the water and was drowned. 1642. Mo.4.8.

About this time the adventurers to the Iſle of Sable fetched off their men and goods all ſafe. The oil, teeth, ſeal and horſe hides, and ſome black fox ſkins came to near £1500.

One Darby Field an iriſhman, living about Piſcat: being accompanied with two indians, went to the top of the white hill. He made his journey in 18 days. His relation at his return was, That it was about 160 miles from Saco, that afer 40 miles travel he did, for the moſt part, aſcend, and within 12 miles of the top was neither tree nor graſs but low which they went on the top of ſometimes but a continual aſcent upon rocks, on a ridge between two vallies filled with ſnow, out of which came two branches of Saco river which met at the foot of the hill where was an indian town of ſome 200 people; ſome of them accompanied him within 8 miles of the top, but durſt go no further, telling him that no indian ever dared to go higher, and that he would die if he went. So they ſtaid there 'till his return, and his two indians took courage by his example and went with him. They went divers times thro' the thick clouds for a good ſpace, and within 4 miles of the top they had no clouds, but very cold. By the way among the rocks there were two ponds, one a blackiſh water and the other reddiſh. The top of all was plain about 60 feet ſquare. On the North ſide there was ſuch a precipice as they could ſcarce diſcern to the bottom. They had neither cloud nor wind on the top and moderate heat. All the country about him ſeemed a level, except here and there a hill riſing above the reſt, but far beneath them. He ſaw to the North a great water which he judged to be about 100 miles broad, but could ſee no land beyond it. The ſea by Saco ſeemed as if it had been within 20 miles. He ſaw alſo a ſea to the Eaſtward, which he judged to be the gulph of Canada—he ſaw ſome great waters in parts to the Weſtward which he judged to be the great lake which Ca-

1642. Canada river comes out of. He found there much muſcovy glaſs, they could rive out pieces of 40 feet long and 7 or 8 broad. When he came back to the indians he found them drying themſelves by the fire, for they had a great tempeſt of wind and rain. About a month after he went again with five or ſix in his company, then they had ſome wind on the top and ſome clouds above them which hid the ſun. They brought ſome ſtones which they ſuppoſed had been diamonds, but they were moſt chryſtal. See after, another relation more true and exact. p. 265-6

Mo.4.22. In the time of the general court, in a great tempeſt of thunder and lightning, in the evening, the lightning ſtruck the upper ſail of the windmill in Boſton by the ferry, and ſhattered it in many pieces, and miſſing the ſtones ſtruck into the ſtandard, rived it down in three parts to the bottom, and one of the ſpars, and the main ſtandard being bound about with a great iron hoop, faſtened with many long ſpikes, it was plucked off, broken in the middle, and thrown upon the floor, and the boards upon the ſides of the mill rived off the ſacks &c. in the mill ſet on fire, and the miller being under the mill upon the ground chopping a piece of board, was ſtruck dead, but company coming in, found him to breath, ſo they carried him to an houſe, and within an hour or two he began to ſtir, and ſtrove with ſuch force, as ſix men could ſcarce hold him down. The next day he came to his ſenſes, but knew nothing of what had befallen him, but found himſelf very ſore on divers parts of his body. His hair on one ſide of his head and beard was ſinged, one of his ſhoes torn off his foot, but his foot not hurt.

The indians at Kenebeck hearing of the general conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh, determined to begin there, and one of them knowing that Mr. Edward Winſlow did uſe to walk within the paliſadoes, prepared his piece to ſhoot him, but as he was about it, Mr. Winſlow not ſeeing him nor ſuſpecting any thing, but thinking he had walked enough, went ſuddenly into the houſe, and ſo God preſerved him.

At the ſame general court there fell out a great buſineſs upon a very ſmall occaſion, Anno 1636. There was a ſtray ſow in Boſton which was brought to Capt. Keain, he had it cried divers times, and divers came to ſee it, but none made claim to it for near a year. He kept it in his yard with a ſow of his own, afterwards one Sherman's

wife

wife having loſt ſuch a ſow, laid claim to it, but came not to ſee it, 'till Capt. Keain had killed his own ſow, after being ſhewed the ſtray ſow, and finding it to have other marks than ſhe had claimed her ſow by, ſhe gave out that he had killed her ſow. The noiſe hereof being ſpread about the town, the matter was brought before the elders of the church as a caſe of offence—many witneſſes were examined and Capt. Keain was cleared. She not being ſatisfied with this, by the inſtigation of one G. Story a young merchant of London who kept in her houſe (her huſband being then in England) and had been brought before the Governor upon complaint of Capt. Keain as living under ſuſpicion. She brought the cauſe to the inferior court at Boſton, where upon a full hearing, Capt. Kean was again cleared, and the jury gave him £3 for his coſt, and he bringing his action againſt Story and her for reporting about that he had ſtolen her ſow, recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story upon this ſearcheth town and country to find matter againſt Capt. Keain about this ſtray ſow, and got of his witneſſes to come into Salem court and to confeſs there that he had forſworn himſelf, and upon this he petitions in Sherman's name, to this general court, to have the cauſe heard again, which was granted, and the beſt part of ſeven days were ſpent in examining of witneſſes and debating of the cauſe, and yet it was not determined, for there being one magiſtrate and thirty deputies, no ſentence could by law paſs without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two magiſtrates and fifteen deputies, the other ſeven deputies ſtood doubtful. Much contention and earneſtneſs there was, which indeed did moſtly ariſe from the difficulty of the caſe, in regard of croſs witneſſes (as one proteſted) againſt the perſon, which blinded ſome men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and courſe of the evidence, for all the plaintiffs witneſſes amounted to no more but an evidence of probability, ſo as they might all ſwear true, and yet the ſow in queſtion might not be the plaintiffs. But the defendant's witneſſes gave a certain evidence, upon their certain knowledge, and that upon certain grounds (and theſe as many and more and of as good credit as the others) ſo as if this teſtimony were true it was not poſſible the ſow ſhould be the plaintiffs; beſides whereas the plaintiff's wife was admitted to take her oath for the marks of her ſow, the de-

1642.

1642. defendant, and his wife (being a very godly ſober woman) was denied the like, altho' propounded in the court by Mr. Cotton, upon that rule in the law he ſhall ſwear he hath not put his hands to his neighbours goods, yet they both in the open court ſolemnly, as in the preſence of God, declared their innocency &c. Further, if the caſe had been doubtful, yet the defendant's lawful poſſeſſion ought to have been preferred to the plaintiff's doubtful title, for *in equali jure melior eſt conditio poſſidentis.* But the defendant being of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his courſe of trading, and having been formerly cenſured in the court and in the church alſo, by admonition for ſuch offences, carried many weak minds ſtrongly againſt him: and the truth is, he was very worthy of blame in that kind, as divers others in the country were alſo in thoſe times, tho' they were not detected as he was, yet to give every man his due, he was very uſeful to the country both by his hoſpitality and otherwiſe, but one dead fly ſpoils much good ointment.

There was great expectation in the country, by occaſion of Story's clamours againſt him, that the cauſe would have paſſed againſt the Captain, but falling out otherwiſe, gave occaſion to many to ſpeak unreverently of the court, eſpecially of the magiſtrates, and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the courſe of juſtice, and that theſe magiſtrates muſt be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was tho't fit by the Governor & other of the magiſtrates to publiſh a declaration of the true ſtate of the cauſe, that truth might not be condemned unknown. This was framed before the court brake up; for prevention whereof, the Governor tendred a declaration in nature of a pacification, whereby it might have appeared that howſoever the members of the court diſſented in judgment, yet they were the ſame in affection, and had a charitable opinion each of other; but this was oppoſed by ſome of the plaintiff's part, ſo it was laid by. And becauſe there was much labouring in the country upon a falſe ſuppoſition that the magiſtrate's negative voice ſtopped the plaintiff in the caſe of the ſow, one of the magiſtrates publiſhed a declaration of the neceſſity of upholding the ſame. It may be here inſerted, being but brief.

[*This declaration is not in M.S.* Edit.]

From

From Maryland came one Mr. Neale with two pinnaces and commiſſion from Mr. Calcourt the Governor there, to buy mares and ſheep, but having nothing to pay for them but bills charged upon the Lord Baltimore in England, no man would deal with him. One of his veſſels was ſo eaten with worms that he was forced to leave her. 1642. Mo.5.7.

Mr. Chancye of Scituate perſevered in his opinion of dipping in baptiſm, and practiſed accordingly, firſt upon two of his own, which being in very cold weather, one of them ſwooned away. Another having a child about three years old, feared it would be frightened, (as others had been, and one caught hold of Mr. Chancye and had near pulled him into the water) ſhe brought her child to Boſton with letters teſtimonial from Mr. Chancye, and had it baptized there.

A general faſt was kept by order of the general court and advice of ſome of the elders. The occaſion was principally for the danger we conceived our native country was in, and the foul ſins which had broken out among ourſelves &c. 21

Oſamaken the great ſachem of Pakamecott in Plimouth juriſdiction came attended with many men and ſome other ſagamores accompanying him, to viſit the Governor who entertained him kindly &c. 23

The Mary Roſe which had been blown up and ſunk with all her ordnance, ballaſt, much lead, and other goods, was now weighed and brought to ſhore by the induſtry and diligence of one Edward Bedall of Boſton. The court gave the owners above a years time to recover and free the harbour, which was much damnified by her, and they having given her over and never attempting to weigh her, Edward Bedall undertook it upon theſe terms. viz. If he freed the harbour, he ſhould have half of all he recovered. He made two great tubs bigger than a butt, very tight, and open at one end upon which were hanged ſo many weights as would ſink it to the ground (600wt.) It was let down, the diver ſitting in it, a cord in his hand to give notice when they ſhould draw him up, and another cord to ſhew when they ſhould remove it from place to place, ſo he could continue in his tub near half an hour, and faſten ropes to the ordnance, and put the lead &c. into a net or tub, and when the tub was drawn up one knocked upon the head of it and thruſt a long pole under water which the diver laid hold of, and

ſo

1642. ſo was drawn up by it, for they might not draw the open end out of water for endangering him &c. The caſe of the money ſhot out of one of the guns, which came to a trial in the court at Boſton (8) 27. See in the next leaf.

(5) 28. A Dutch ſhip of 300 tons arrived here laden with ſalt from the Weſt Indies which ſhe ſold here for plank and pipe ſtaves. She brought two Spaniſh merchants, who being taken at ſea while they went in a frigate from Domingo to find an Engliſh ſhip which they had freighted there, and was by their agreement, ſtolen out of the harbour where ſhe had been long imbarred. They hired this dutchman to bring them hither where they had appointed their ſhip to come, not daring to go into Spain or England. They ſtaid here about a month, but their ſhip came not, ſo they went away again. We heard after that their ſhip had been 14 days beating upon our coaſt, and being put back ſtill by N.W. winds, ſhe bare up, and went for England, and arriving at Southampton, the parliament made uſe of the treaſure.

God would not ſuffer her to came to us, leſt our hearts ſhould have cauſed the Spaniards to have an evil eye upon us.

Some of the elders went to Concord being ſent for by the church there to adviſe with them about the maintenance of their elders &c. They found them wavering about removal, not finding their plantation anſwerable to their expectation, and the maintenance of two elders, too heavy a burden for them. The elders advice was, that they ſhould continue and wait upon God, and be helpful to their elders in labour and what they could, and all to be ordered by the deacons (whoſe office had not formerly been improved this way amongſt them) and that the elders ſhould be content with what means the church was able at preſent to afford them, and if either of them ſhould be called to ſome other place, then to adviſe with other churches about removal.

One Wequaſh Cook an indian living about Connecticut river's mouth, and keeping much at Saybrook with Mr. Fenwick, attained to good knowledge of the things of God and ſalvation by Chriſt, ſo as he became a preacher to other indians, and laboured much to convert them, but without any effect, for within a ſhort time he fell ſick, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from them, and died very comfortably.

There

There was about £30 put into one of the guns of the Mary Roſe which was known all abroad. The guns being taken up and ſearched, they pulled out of one of them a wad of rope yarn, they handled it and found it very heavy, and began to undo it, but being very wet and foul they threw it down, and about 8 or 9 days after, coming to try one of the guns, and finding this wad lying there, they thruſt it in after the powder, and ſhot it off into the channel, but perceived part of it to break and fall ſhort, and the reſt fell into the middle of the channel: but the next low water there was taken up ſeveral pieces of gold and ſome ſilver. This was in a place where people paſſed daily, and never any found there before that time. Thoſe who found the money refuſed to reſtore it to him who had bought and taken up the wreck.—whereupon he brought his action, and the money was adjudged to him. 1642.

Two ſhips arrived from England, but brought not above five or ſix paſſengers ſave our own people, and very few goods except rigging &c. for ſome ſhips which were building here.

Now came over a book of Mr. Cotton's ſermons upon the ſeven vials. Mr. Humphry had gotton the notes from ſome who had took them by characters, and printed them in London, which was a great wrong to Mr. Cotton, and he was much greived at it, for it had been fit he ſhould have peruſed and corrected the copy before it had been printed.

Mr. Welde, Mr. Peter and Mr. Hibbins who were ſent the laſt year into England, had procured £500 which they ſent over in linnen, wollen and other uſeful commodities for the courtry, which, becauſe the ſtock might be preſerved and returned this year for a further ſupply, were put off together for about eighty pounds profit, and the principal returned by Mr. Stoughton in the next ſhip. Mo. 6.

By their means alſo Mr. Richard Andrews an haberdaſher in Cheapſide London, a godly man, and who had been a former benefactor to this country, having £500 due to him from the Governor and company of Plimouth, gave it to this colony to be laid out in cattle and other courſe of trade for the poor.

Two fiſhermen drowned in a ſhallop which was overſet near Piſcat.

The ſhip Trial about 200 tons built at Boſton by the mer- 24

1642. merchants there, being now ready to ſet ſail (Mr. Tho's C maſter and divers godly ſeamen in her) Mr. Cotton was deſired to preach aboard her &c. but upon conſideration that the audience would be too great for the ſhip, the ſermon was at the meeting houſe.

A plantation was begun the laſt year at Delaware Bay by thoſe of New-Haven, ſome 20 families were tranſported thither, but this ſummer there fell ſuch ſickneſs and mortality among them as diſſolved the plantation. The ſame ſickneſs and mortality befell the Swedes alſo who were planted upon the ſame river. The Engliſh were after driven out by the Swedes.

Mo. 7. Mr. William Hibbins who was one of thoſe who were ſent over into England the year before, arrived now in ſafety with divers others who went over then alſo. He made a public declaration to the church in Boſton of all the good providences of the Lord towards him in his voyage to and fro &c. wherein it was very obſervable what care the Lord had of them, and what deſperate dangers they were delivered from upon the ſeas, ſuch as the eldeſt ſeamen were amazed; and indeed ſuch preſervations and deliverances have been ſo frequent to ſuch ſhips as have carried thoſe of the Lords family between the two Englands as would fill a perfect volume to report them all.

(6) There came letters from divers Lords of the upper houſe and ſome 30 of the houſe of commons, and others from the miniſters there who ſtood for the independency of churches, to Mr. Cotton of Boſton, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New-Haven, to call them, or ſome of them, if all could not, to England to aſſiſt in the ſynod there appointed, to conſider and adviſe about the ſettling of church government. Upon this ſuch of the magiſtrates and elders as were at hand met together, and were moſt of them of opinion that it was a call of God, yet took reſpite of concluding, till they might hear from the reſt—whereupon a meſſenger was preſently diſpatched to Connecticut and New-Haven with the letters &c. Upon return it was found that Mr. Hooker liked not the buſineſs, nor thought it any ſufficient call for them to go 3,000 miles to agree with three men (meaning thoſe three miniſters who were for independency, and did ſolicit in the parliament &c.) Mr. Davenport thought otherwiſe of it, ſo as the church there ſet apart a day to ſeek the Lord in it, and thereupon came to this con-

conclusion, that seeing the church had no other officer but himself, therefore they might not spare him. 1642.

Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, though he were very averse to a sea voyage, and the more because his ordinary topic in Acts 13. led him to deliver that doctrine of the interest all churches have in each other's members for mutual helpfulness &c. But soon after came other letters out of England upon the breach between the king and parliament, from one of the former Lords and from Mr. Welde and Mr. Peter, to advise them to stay 'till they heard further; so this care came to an end.

There arrived another ship with salt which was put off for pipe staves &c. so by an unexpected providence we were supplied of salt to go on with our fishing, and of ships to take off our pipe staves which lay upon men's hands.

There fell out a very sad accident at Weymouth. One Richard Silvester having three small children, he and his wife going to the assembly upon the Lord's day, left their children at home; the eldest was without doors looking to some cattle; the middlemost being a son about five years old, seeing his father's fowling piece (being a very great one) stand in the chimney, took it and laid it upon a stool as he had seen his father do, and pulled up the cock (the spring being weak) and put down the hammer, then went to the other end and blowed in the mouth of the piece, as he had seen his father also do, and with that stirring the piece, being charged, it went off, and shot the child into the mouth and thro' his head. When the father came home he found his child lie dead, and could not have imagined how he should have been so killed, but the youngest child (being but three years old and could scarce speak) shewed him the whole manner of it.

There arrived in a small pinnace one Mr. Benet a gentleman of Virginia with letters from many well disposed people of the upper in Virginia to the elders here, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly intreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office &c. Upon these letters (which were openly read in Boston upon a lecture day) the elders met and set a day apart to seek God in it, and agreed upon three who might most likely be spared, viz.

Mr.

1642. Mr. Philips of Watertown, Mr. Thompſon of Brantree, and Mr. Miller of Rowlye, for theſe churches had each of them two. Having deſigned theſe men they acquainted the general court herewith, who did approve thereof, and ordered that the Governor ſhould commend them to the Governor and Council of Virginia, which was done accordingly, but Mr. Philips being not willing to go, Mr. Knolles his fellow elder, and Mr. Thompſon, with the conſent of their churches, were ſent away, and departed on their way 8ber 7. to Taunton to meet the bark at Naraganſett. Mr. Miller did not accept the call. The main argument which prevailed with the churches to diſmiſs them to that work, and with the court to allow and further it, was the advancement of the kingdom of Chriſt in thoſe parts, and the confidence they had in the promiſe, that whoſoever ſhall part with father &c. for may ſake and the goſpel's, ſhall receive an hundred fold. We were ſo far from fearing any loſs by parting with ſuch deſirable men, as we looked at them as ſeed ſown which would bring us in a plentiful harveſt, and we accounted it no ſmall honor that God had put upon his poor churches here, that other parts of the world ſhould ſeek to us for help in this kind, for about the ſame time two of our veſſels which had been gone near a year, and were much feared to be loſt, returned home with a good ſupply of cotton, and brought home letters with them from Barbadoes and other iſlands in thoſe parts, inteating us to ſupply them with miniſters, but underſtanding that theſe people were much infected with familiſt &c. the elders did nothing about it, intending to inquire further by another veſſel which was preparing for thoſe parts.

Mo.7. 1. There came letters from the court at Connecticut, and from two of the magiſtrates there, and from Mr. Ludlow near the dutch, certifying us that the indians all over the country had combined themſelves to cut off all the engliſh—that the time was appointed after harveſt—the manner alſo they ſhould go, by ſmall companies to the chief men's houſes by way of trading &c. and ſhould kill them in the houſe and ſeize their weapons, and then others ſhould be at hand to proſecute the maſſacre—and that this was diſcovered by three ſeveral indians nearabout the ſame time and in the ſame manner; one to Mr. Eaton of New-Haven, another to Mr. Ludlow, and the third to Mr Haynes. This laſt being quite near to death by a cart &c. ſent after Mr. Haynes, and told him that En-

Engliſhman's God was angry with him and had ſet En- 1642.
gliſhman's cow to kill him becauſe he had concealed ſuch a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh, and ſo told him of it as the other two had done. Upon this their advice to us was, that it was better to enter into war preſently and begin with them, and if we would ſend 100 men to the river's mouth of Connecticut, they would meet us with a proportionable number. Upon theſe letters the Governor called ſo many of the magiſtrates as were near, and being met they ſent out ſummons for a general court to be kept ſix days after, and in the mean time it was thought fit, for our ſafety, and to ſtrike ſome terror into the indians, to diſarm ſuch as were within our juriſdiction. Accordingly we ſent men to Cutſhamkin at Brantree to fetch him and his guns, bows &c. which was done, and he came willingly, and being late in the night when they came to Boſton, he was put in the priſon, but the next morning, finding upon examination of him and divers of his men, no ground of ſuſpicion of his partaking in any ſuch conſpiracy, he was diſmiſſed. Upon the warrant which went to Ipſwich, Rowlye and Newberry to diſarm Paſſaconamy, who lived by Merrimack, they ſent forth 40 men armed the next day, being the Lord's day, but it rained all the day, as it had done divers days before and alſo after, ſo as they could not go to his wigman, but they came to his ſon's and took him, which they had warrant for, and a ſqua and her child, which they had warrant for, and therefore order was given ſo ſoon as he heard of it, to ſend them home again. They fearing his ſon's eſcape, led him in a line, but he taking an opportunity, ſlipped his line and eſcaped from them, but one very indiſcreetly made a ſhot at him, and miſſed him narrowly. Upon the intelligence of theſe unwarranted proceedings, and concerning that Paſſaconamy would look at it as a manifeſt injury (as indeed we conceived it to be, and had always ſhunned to give them any juſt occaſion againſt us) the court being now aſſembled, we ſent Cutſhamakin to him to let him know that what was done to his ſon and ſqua was without order, and to ſhew him the occaſion whereupon we had ſent to diſarm all the indians, and that when we ſhould find that they were innocent of any ſuch conſpiracy, we would reſtore all their arms again, and to will him alſo to come ſpeak with us. He returned anſwer that he knew not what was become of his ſon and his ſquas, (for one of them was ran into the woods and came

1642. not again for ten days after, and the other was ſtill in cuſtody) if he had them ſafe again then he would come to us, accordingly about a fortnight after he ſent his eldeſt ſon to us, who delivered up his guns &c.

Mo.7 8. The general court being aſſembled, we conſidered of the letters and other intelligence from Connecticut, and although the thing ſeemed very probable, yet we thought it not ſufficient ground for us to begin a war, for it was poſſible it might be otherwiſe, and that all this might come out of the enmity which had been between Miantonomoh and Onkus, who continually ſought to diſcredit each other with the Engliſh. We conſidered alſo of the like reports which had formerly been raiſed almoſt every year ſince we came, and how they proved to be but reports raiſed up by the oppoſite factions among the indians: beſides we found ourſelves in very ill caſe for war, and if we ſhould begin, we muſt then be forced to ſtand continually upon our guard, and to deſert our farms and buſineſs abroad, and all our trade with the indians, which things would bring us very low; and beſides, if upon this intelligence we ſhould kill any of them, or loſe any of our own, and it ſhould be found after to have been a falſe report, we might provoke God's diſpleaſure, and blemiſh our wiſdom and integrity before the heathen. Further it was conſidered that our beginning with them could not ſecure us againſt them—we might deſtroy ſome part of their corn and wigwams, and force them to fly into the woods &c. but the men would be ſtill remaining to do us miſchief, for they will never fight us in the open field. Laſtly it was conſidered that ſuch as were to be ſent out in ſuch an expedition were, for the moſt part, godly, and would be as well aſſured of the juſtice of the cauſe as the warrant of their call, and then we would not fear their forwardneſs and courage, but if they ſhould be ſent out, not well reſolved, we might fear the ſucceſs. According to theſe conſiderations we returned anſwer to Connecticut, and withal we ſent two men with two interpreters, an engliſhman and an indian to Miantonomoh to let him know what intelligence we had of his drawing the reſt of the indians into a confederation againſt us, and of his purpoſe to make his ſon ſachem of Pequod, and of other things which were breaches of the league he made with us, and to deſire him to come by ſuch a time to give us ſatisfaction about them, if he refuſed to come and give them a ſatisfactory anſwer, then to let him know that if he

he regarded not our friendſhip, he would give us occaſion to right ourſelves, and inſtruction was given them, that if he gave them occaſion, they ſhould tell him the reaſon of our diſarming the indians, and excuſe the injury done to Paſſaconamy to be a miſtake and without our order. The meſſengers coming to him he carried them apart into the woods, taking only one of his chief men with him, and gave them very rational anſwers to all their propoſitions, and promiſed alſo to come over to us, which he did within the time prefixed. 1642.

When he came the court was aſſembled, and before his admiſſion we conſidered how to treat with him (for we knew him to be a very ſubtle man,) and agreed upon the points and order—and that none ſhould propound any thing to him but the Governor, and if any other of the court had any thing material to ſuggeſt, he ſhould impart it to the Governor.

Being called in and mutual ſalutations paſſed, he was ſet down at the lower end of the table over againſt the Governor, and had only two or three of his councellors, and two or three of our neighbouring indians, ſuch as he deſired, but would not ſpeak of any buſineſs at any time, before ſome of his counſellors were preſent, alledging that he would have them preſent that they might bear witneſs with him at his return home, of all his ſayings.

In all his anſwers he was very deliberate and ſhewed good underſtanding in the principles of juſtice and amity, and ingenuity withal. He demanded that his accuſers might be brought forth, to the end that if they could not make good what they had charged him with, they might ſuffer what he was worthy of, and muſt have expected if he had been found guilty, viz, death. We anſwered, we knew them not, nor were they within our power, nor would give credit to them before we had given him knowledge of it according to our agreement with him. He replied, if you did not give credit to it, why then did you diſarm the indians. We anſwered, for our ſecurity, and becauſe we had been credibly informed that ſome of the eaſtern indians had lately robbed divers engliſhmen's houſes at ſaco, and taken away their powder and guns. This anſwer ſatisfyed them. He gave divers reaſons why we ſhould hold him free of any ſuch conſpiracy, and why we ſhould conceive it was a report raiſed by Onkus, &c. and therefore offered to meet Onkus at Connecticut or rather at Boſton, and would prove to his face his treachery againſt

1642. gainſt the engliſh &c. and told us he would come to us at any time, for tho' ſome had deſſuaded him, aſſuring him that the Engliſh would put him to death, or keep him in priſon, yet he being innocent of any ill intention againſt the engliſh, he knew them to be ſo juſt as they would do him no wrong, and told us that if we ſent but any indian to him that he liked, he would come to us, and we ſhould not need to ſend any of our own men. He urged much that thoſe might be puniſhed who had raiſed this ſlander, and put it to our conſideration what damage it had been to him, in that he was forced to keep his men at home, and not ſuffer them to go forth on hunting &c. till he had given the engliſh ſatisfaction, and the charge and trouble it had put the engliſh unto &c. We ſpent the better part of two days in treating with him, and in concluſion he did accommodate himſelf to us to our ſatisfaction; only ſome difficulty we had to bring him to diſert the Nianticks if we had juſt cauſe of war with them. They were, he ſaid, as his own fleſh, being allied by continual intermarriages &c. but at laſt he condecended that if they ſhould do us wrong as he could not draw them to give us ſatisfaction for, nor himſelf could ſatisfy, as if it were for blood &c. then he would leave them to us.

When we ſhould go to dinner there was a table provided for the indians to dine by themſelves, and Miant; was left to ſit with them. This he was diſcontented at, and would eat nothing, till the Governor ſent him meat from his table, ſo at night and all the time he ſtaid he ſat at the lower end of the magiſtrate's table, when he departed, we gave him and his counſellors coats and tobacco, and when he came to take his leave of the Governor and ſuch of the magiſtrates as were preſent, he returned, and gave his hand to the Governor again, ſaying that was for the reſt of the magiſtrates who were abſent.

The court being adjourned for a few days 'till we might hear from Miant: (it was aſſembled again at ſuch time as he came to Boſton) there came letters from Connecticut certifying us of divers inſolencies of the indians, which ſo confirmed their minds in believing the former report, as they were now reſolved to make war upon the indians, and earneſtly preſſing us to delay no longer to ſend forth our men to join with them, and that they thought they ſhould be forced to begin before they could hear from us again.

Upon receipt of theſe letters the Governor aſſembled ſuch

ſuch of the magiſtrates and deputies as were at hand, and divers of the elders alſo (for they were then met at Boſton upon other occaſions) and imparted the letters to them with other letters ſent from the Governor of Plimouth, intimating ſome obſervations they had which made them very much to ſuſpect that there was ſuch a plot in hand &c. We all ſat in conſultation hereabout all the day, and in the end concluded, 1. That all theſe informations might ariſe from a falſe ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Naraganſett and Monhigen. 2. Being thus doubtful, it was not a ſufficient ground for us to war upon them. 3. That all theſe particular inſolencies and wrongs ought to be revenged and repaired by courſe of juſtice, if it might be obtained, otherwiſe we ſhould never be free from war: And accordingly lettters were ſent back to our brethren at Connecticut to acquaint them with our opinions, and to diſſuade them from going forth, alledging how dishonorable it would be to us all, that while we were upon treaty with the indians, they ſhould make war upon them, for they would account their act as our own, ſeeing we had formerly profeſſed to the indians that we were all as one, and in our late meſſage to Miant: had remembered him again of the ſame, and he had anſwered that he did ſo account us. Upon receipt of this our anſwer they forbare to enter into war, but (it ſeemed) unwillingly, and as not well pleaſed with us. 1642.

Altho' we apprehended no danger, yet we continued our military watches 'till near the end of 8ber. and reſtored the indians all their arms we had taken from them: for altho' we ſaw it was very dangerous to us that they ſhould have guns &c. yet we ſaw not in juſtice how we could take them away, ſeeing they came lawfully by them (by trade with the French and Dutch for the moſt part) and uſed them only for killing of fowl and dear &c. except they brought themſelves into the ſtate of an enemy, therefore we thought it better to truſt God with our ſafety than to ſave ourſelves by unrighteouſneſs.

At this court we were informed of ſome engliſh to the eaſtward who ordinarily traded powder to the indians, and lived alone under no government; whereupon we granted warrant to a gentleman, that upon due proof &c. he ſhould take away their powder, leaving them ſufficient for their own occaſion.

This court alſo took order that every town ſhould be fur-

1642. furniſhed with powder out of the comon ſtore, paying for it in country commodities, likewiſe for muſkets; and for military watches and alarms &c. Preſently upon this there aroſe an alarm in the night upon this occaſion.

(7) 19. A man travelling late from Dorcheſter to Watertown, loſt his way, and being benighted and in a ſwamp about 10. of the clock, hearing ſome wolves howl, and fearing to be devoured of them. he cried out *help, help*—one that dwelt within hearing, over againſt Cambridge, hallood to him, the other ſtill cried out, which cauſed the man to fear that the indians had gotten ſome engliſhman and were torturing him. but not daring to go to him, he diſcharged a piece two or three times—this gave the alarm to Watertown, and ſo it went as far as Salem and Dorcheſter, but about one or two of the clock no enemy appearing &c. all retired but the watch.

At this court alſo four of Providence who could not conſort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and moleſted by them, came and offered themſelves and their lands &c. to us, and were accepted under our government and protection. This we did partly to reſcue thoſe men from unjuſt violence, and partly to draw in the reſt in thoſe parts either under ourſelves or Plimouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offenſive, and the place was likely to be of uſe to us, eſpecially if we ſhould have occaſion of ſending out againſt any of the indians of Naraganſett Bay, and ſeeing it came without our ſeeking, and would be no charge to us, we thought it not wiſdom to let it ſlip.

The engliſh of Southampton on Long Iſland, having certain intelligence of one of thoſe indians who murdered Hammond, who was put aſhore there with others when their pinnace was wrecked, ſent Capt. Howe and eight or ten men to take him. He being in the wigwam ran out and with his knife wounded one of the engliſh in the breaſt, and ſo behaved himſelf as they were forced to kill him.

22 The court, with advice of the elders, ordered a general faſt. The occaſions were. 1. The ill news we had out of England concerning the breach between the king and parliament. 2. The danger of the indians. 3. The unſeaſonable weather, the rain having continued ſo long, viz. near a fortnight together ſcarce one fair day, and much corn and hay ſpoiled, tho' indeed it proved a bleſs-

ing

ing to us, for it being with warm eaſterly winds it brought the indian corn to maturity, which otherwiſe would not have been ripe, and it pleaſed God that ſo ſoon as the faſt was agreed upon, the weather changed, and proved fair after. 1642.

At this court the propoſitions ſent from Connecticut about a combination &c. were read, and referred to a committee to conſider of after the court, who meeting, added ſome few cautions and new articles, and for the taking in of Plimouth (who were now willing) and Sir Ferdinand Gorges' province, and ſo returned them back to Connecticut to be conſidered upon againſt the ſpring; for winter was now approaching, and there could be no meeting before &c.

The ſudden fall of land and cattle, and the ſcarcity of foreign commodities and money &c. with the thin acceſs of people from England, put many into an unſettled frame of ſpirit, ſo as they concluded there would be no ſubſiſting here, and accordingly they began to haſten away, ſome to the W. Indies, others to the Dutch at Long Iſland &c. (for the Governor there invited them by fair offers) and others back for England. Among others who returned thither, there was one of the magiſtrates, Mr. Humphry, and four miniſters and a ſchoolmaſter; theſe would needs go againſt all advice, and had a fair and ſpeedy voyage 'till they came near England, all which time three of the miniſters with the ſchoolmaſter, ſpake reproachfully of the people and of the country, but the wind coming up, they were toſſed up and down (being in 10ber) ſo long 'till their proviſions and other neceſſaries were near ſpent, and they were forced to ſtrait allowance, yet at length the wind coming fair again, they got into the ſleeve, but then there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt at S,E. as they could bear no ſail, and ſo were out of hope of being ſaved (being in the night alſo) then they humbled themſelves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be juſtly out againſt them for ſpeaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here &c. Only one of them, Mr. Philip's of Wrentham in England had not joined with the reſt, but ſpake well of the people and of the country; upon this it pleaſed the Lord to ſpare their lives, and when they expected every moment to have been daſhed upon the rocks (for they were hard by the needles) he turned the wind ſo as they were carried ſafe to the Iſle of With by St. Helen's: yet the Lord follow-

1642. lowed them on ſhore. Some were expoſed to great ſtraits and found no entertainment, their friends forſaking them —one had a daughter that preſently ran mad, and two other of his daughters, being under ten years of age, were diſcovered to have been often abuſed by divers lewd perſons, and filthineſs in his family. The ſchoolmaſter had no ſooner hired an houſe, and gotten in ſome ſcholars, but the plague ſet in, and took away two of his own children.

Others who went to other places upon like grounds ſucceeded no better; they fled for fear of want, and many of them fell into it, even to extremity, as if they had haſtened into the miſery which they feared and fled from, beſides the depriving themſelves of the ordinances and church fellowſhip, and thoſe civil liberties which they enjoyed here, whereas ſuch as ſtaid in their places, kept their peace and eaſe, and enjoyed ſtill the bleſſing of the ordinances, and never taſted of thoſe troubles and miſeries which they heard to have befallen thoſe who departed. Much diſputation there was about liberty of removing for outward advantages, and all ways were ſought for an open door to get out at; but it is to be feared many crept out at a broken wall: for ſuch as come together into a wilderneſs, where are nothing but wild beaſts and beaſtlike men, and there confederate together in civil and church eſtate, whereby they do, implicitly at leaſt, bind themſelves to ſupport each other, and all them that ſociety, whether civil or ſacred, whereof they are members, how they can break from this without free conſent, is hard to find, ſo as may ſatisfy a tender or good conſcience in time of trial. Aſk thy conſcience if thou wouldſt have plucked up thy ſtakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles if thou hadſt expected that all, or moſt, would have forſaken thee there. Aſk again what liberty thou haſt towards others which thou likeſt not to allow others towards thyſelf, for if one may go another may, and ſo the greater part, and ſo church and commonwealth may be left diſtitute in a wilderneſs expoſed to miſery and reproach. and all for thy eaſe and pleaſure, whereas theſe all, being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Iſraelites were to Moſes, it were much ſafer for thee, after his example, to chooſe rather to ſuffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy eaſe and pleaſure by furthering the occaſion of their ruin.

X Nine bachellors commenced at Cambridge; they were young

young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz. all the magistrates and elders of the three neareſt churches, and the president or the greateſt part of theſe. Moſt of them were now preſent at this firſt commencement, and dined at the college with the ſcholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpoſe for the ſtudents encouragement &c. and it gave good content to all. 1642. (8) 5.

At this commencement complaint was made to the governors of two young men of good quality lately come out of England, for foul misbehaviour, in ſwearing and ribaldry ſpeeches &c. for which, tho' they were adult, they were corrected in the college, and ſequeſtered &c. for a time.

Here came in a French ſhallop with ſome 14 men, whereof one was La Tour his lieutenant. They brought letters from La Tour to the Governor, full of compliments and deſire of aſſiſtance from us againſt Monſ. D'Aulnay. They ſtaid here about a week and were kindly entertained, and tho' they were papiſts, yet they came to our church meeting; and the lieutenant ſeemed to be much affected to find things as he did, and profeſſed he never ſaw ſo good order in any place. One of the elders gave him a french teſtament with notes, which he kindly accepted, and promiſed to read it. 6

Six ſhips went hence laden with pipe ſtaves and other commodities of this country—four went a little before. Of theſe, four were built in the country this year. Thus God provided for us beyond expectation. 13

Mention is made before of the white hills diſcovered by one Darby Feald. The report he brought of ſtrange ſtones &c. cauſed divers others to travel thither, but they found nothing worth their pains. Amongſt others Mr. Gorge and Mr. Vines two of the magiſtrates of Sir Ferdinand Gorge his province, went thither about the end of this month. They went up Saco river in birch canoes, and that way they found it 90 miles to Pegwaggett an indian town, but by land it is but 60. Upon Saco river they found many thouſand acres of rich meadow, but there are ten falls which hinder boats &c. From the indian town they went up hill (for the moſt part) about 30 miles in woody lands, then they went about 7 or 8 miles upon ſhattered rocks, without tree or graſs, very ſteep all (6.)

1642. the way. At the top is a plain about 3 or 4 miles over, all ſhatter'd ſtones, and upon that is an other rock or ſpire about a mile in height, and about an acre of ground at the top. At the top of the plain ariſe four great rivers, each of them ſo much water at the firſt iſſue as would drive a mill. Connecticut river from two heads at the N.W. and S.W. which join in one about 60 miles off—Saco river on the S.E.—Amaſcoggen which runs into Caſcobay at the N.E. and Kennebeck at the N. by E. The mountain runs E. and W. 30 or 40 miles, but the peak is above all the reſt. They went and returned in 15 days.

(8) 18. All the elders met at Ipſwich; they took into conſideration the book which was committed to them by the General Court, and were much different in their judgments about it, but at length they agreed upon this anſwer in effect.

Whereas in the book there were three propoſitions laid down, and then the application of them to the ſtanding council, and then the arguments enforcing the ſame. The propoſitions were theſe.

1 In a commonwealth rightly and religiouſly conſtituted there is no power, office, adminiſtration, or duty but ſuch as are commanded and ordained of God.

2 The powers, offices, and adminiſtrations that are ordained of God as aforeſaid, being given, diſpenſed, and erected in a chriſtian commonwealth by his good providence—proportioned to his rule, to their ſtate and condition—eſtabliſhed by his power againſt all oppoſition—carried on and accompanied with his preſence and bleſſing, ought not to be by them either changed or altered but upon ſuch grounds—for ſuch ends—in that manner, and only ſo far as the mind of God may be manifeſted
3 therein. 3. The mind of God is never manifeſted concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance erected or eſtabliſhed by him as aforeſaid in a chriſtian commonwealth, ſo long as all the caſes, counſels, ſervices and occaſions thereof may be duly and fully ended, ordered, executed and performed without any change or alteration of government.

In their anſwer they allowed the ſaid propoſitions to be ſound, with this diſtinction in the 1ſt. viz. That all lawful powers are ordained &c. either expreſsly or by conſequence—by particular examples or by general rules.

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In the applications they diſtinguiſhed between a ſtanding council inveſted with a kind of tranſcendent authority beyond other magiſtrates, or elſe any kind of ſtanding council diſtinct from magiſtrates; the former they ſeem implicitly to diſallow; the latter they approve as neceſſary for us, not diſproportionable to our eſtate, nor of any dangerous conſequence for diſunion among the magiſtrates, or factions among the people, which were the arguments uſed by the author againſt our council. Some paſſages they wiſh had been ſpared, and other things omitted, which if ſupplied, might have cleared ſome paſſages which may ſeem to reflect upon the preſent councils, which they do think not to be of that moment, but that the uprightneſs of his intentions conſidered, and the liberty given for advice, according to the rules of religion, peace and prudence, they would be paſſed by. 1642.

Laſtly, they declare their preſent thoughts about the moulding and perfecting of a council, in four rules.

1. That all the magiſtrates, by their calling and office, together with the care of judicature, are to conſult for the proviſion, protection, and univerſal welfare of the commonwealth.

2. Some ſelect men taken out from the aſſiſtants, or other freemen, being called thereunto, be in eſpecial to attend by way of council, for the proviſion, protection, and welfare of the commonwealth.

3. This council, as counſellors, have no power of judicature.

4. In caſes of inſtant danger to the commonwealth, in the interim, before a general court can be called (which were meet to be done with all ſpeed) what ſhall be conſented unto and concluded by this council, or the major part of them, together with the conſent of the magiſtrates or the major part of them, may ſtand good and firm 'till the general court.

Some of our magiſtrates ſent a pinnace to trade with La Tour in St. John's river; he welcomed them very kindly, and wrote to our Governor letters very gratulatory for his lieutenant's entertainment &c. and withal a relation of the ſtate of the controverſy between himſelf and Monſ. D'Aulnay. In their return they met with D'Aulnay at Pemaquid, who wrote alſo to our Governor, and ſent him a printed copy of the arreſt againſt La tour, and threatened us that if any of our veſſels came to La tour, he would make prize of them. (9) 7.

The

1642. The village at the end of Charleſtown bounds was called Woburn, where they had gathered a church, and this
22 day Mr. Carter was ordained their paſtor, with the aſſiſtance of the elders of other churches. Some difference there was about his ordination; ſome adviſed, in regard they had no elder of their own, nor any members very fit to ſolemnize ſuch an ordinance, they would deſire ſome of the elders of the other churches to have performed it; but others ſuppoſing it might be an occaſion of introducing a dependency of churches &c. and ſo a preſbytery, would not allow it, ſo it was performed by one of their own members, but not ſo well and orderly as it ought.

Divers houſes were burnt this year by drying of flax; among others one B of Watertown a rich man a tanner, who had refuſed to let his neighbour have leather for corn, ſaying he had corn enough; had his barn and corn and leather &c. burnt to the value of £200.

Mr. Larkam of Northam, alias Dover, ſuddenly diſcovering a purpoſe to go to England, and fearing to be diſſuaded by his people, gave them his faithful promiſe not to go, but yet ſoon after he gat on ſhip board, and ſo departed. It was time for him to be gone, for not long after a widow which kept in his houſe, being a very handſome women, and about 50 years of age, proved to be with child, and being examined, at firſt refuſed to confeſs the father, but in the end ſhe laid it to Mr. Larkam. Upon this the church of Dover looked out for another elder, and wrote to the elders to deſire their help.

There arrived at Boſton a ſmall ſhip from the Madeiras with wine and ſugar &c. which were preſently ſold for pipe ſtaves and other commodities of the country which were returned to the Madeiras: but the merchant himſelf, one Mr. Pariſh, ſtaid divers months after. He had lived at the Madeiras many years among the prieſts and jeſuits, who told him when he was to come hither, that thoſe of New-England were the worſt of all hereticks, and that they were the cauſe of the troubles in England, and of the pulling down the biſhops there. When he went away he bleſſed God for bringing him hither, profeſſing that he would not loſe what he had gotton in New-England for all the wealth in the world. He went away in a pinnace built here, intending a ſpeedy return, By the way his pinnace (being calked in the winter) proved very leaky, ſo as all the ſeamen, being tired out with pump-

pumping gave her over, but Mr. Pariſh continued the pump, and ſo kept her up, till it pleaſed God they eſpied land, and ſo they came ſafe to Fayall. 1642.

(10.) Thoſe of the lower part of the river Piſcataq: invited one Mr. James Parker of Weymouth, a godly man and a ſcholar, one who had been many years a deputy for the public court, to be their miniſter. He by advice of divers of the magiſtrates and elders, accepted the call, and went and taught among them this winter, and it pleaſed God to give great ſucceſs to his labours, ſo as above 40 of them, whereof the moſt had been very profane, and ſome of them profeſſed enemies to the way of our churches, wrote to the magiſtrates and elders, acknowledging the ſinful courſe they had lived in, and bewailing the ſame, and bleſſing God for calling them out of it, and earneſtly deſiring that Mr. Parker might be ſettled amongſt them. Moſt of them fell back again in time, embracing this preſent world.

This winter was the greateſt ſnow we had ſince we came into the country, but it lay not long, and the froſt was more moderate than in ſome other winters.

(12.) News came out of England by two fiſhing ſhips of the civil wars there between the king and the parliament, whereupon the churches kept divers days of humiliation, but ſome of the magiſtrates were not ſatisfied about the often reiteration of them for the ſame cauſe, but they would not contend with the elders about it, but left the churches to their liberty.

(1.) 5 At 7 in the morning, being the Lord's day, there was a great earthquake, it came with a rumbling noiſe like the former, but thro' the Lord's mercy, it did no harm.

The churches held a different courſe in raiſing the miniſters maintenance—ſome did it by way of taxation, which was very offenſive to ſome. Amongſt others one Briſtoe of Watertown, who had his barn burnt, as before mentioned, being grieved with that courſe in their town, the rather becauſe himſelf and others who were no members were taxed, wrote a book againſt it, wherein, beſides his arguments which were weighty, he caſt the reproach upon the elders and officers. This book he publiſhed underhand, which occaſioned much ſtir in the town. At length he and two more were convented before the court, where he acknowledged his fault in thoſe reproachful ſpeeches and in publiſhing it, whereas it had been his duty to have acquainted the court or magiſtrates with his

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1643. ance &c. (but for the arguments in the point there was nothing required of him) and was fined £10 for that and ſome ſlighting of the court, and one of the publiſhers 40ſ.

Corn was very ſcarce all over the country, ſo as by the end of the 2d. month many families in moſt towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muſcles, cataos, dry fiſh &c. and ſince this came by the juſt hand of the Lord to puniſh our ingratitude and covetouſneſs, for corn being plenty divers years before, it was ſo undervalued, as it would not paſs for any commodity: if one offered a ſhop keeper corn for any thing, his anſwer would be, he knew not what to do with it. So for labourers and artificers; but now they would have done any work, or parted with any commodity for corn, and the huſbandman he now made his advantage, for he would part with no corn, for the moſt part, but for ready money or for cattle at ſuch a price as ſhould be 12d. in the buſhel more to him than ready money, and indeed it was a very ſad thing to ſee how little of a public ſpirit appeared in the country, but of ſelflove too much. Yet there were ſome here and there who were men of another ſpirit, and were willing to abridge themſelves that others might be ſupplied. The immediate cauſes of this ſcarcity were the cold and wet ſummer, eſpecially in the time of the firſt harveſt; alſo the pigeons came in ſuch flocks (about 10,000 in one flock) that beat down and eat up a very great quantity of all ſorts of engliſh grain, much corn ſpent in ſetting out the ſhips catchers &c. Laſtly there were ſuch abundance of mice in the barns that devoured much there; the mice alſo did much ſpoil in orchards eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the ſnow, ſo as never had been known the like ſpoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm againſt our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the ſweat of our brows.

(1) 30. The Trial, Mr. Coytmere maſter, arrived, and a week after one of the catchers. He ſailed firſt to Fayal where he found an extraordinary good market for his pipe ſtaves and fiſh. He took wine and ſugar &c. and ſailed hence to Pt. Peters in the W. Indies where he put off ſome of his wine for cotton and tobacco &c. and for iron which the iſlanders had ſaved of the ſhips which were there caſt away. He obtained licence alſo of the Governor Sir Thomas Warner, to take up what ordonance, anchors &c.

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he could, and was to have the one half; and by the help of a diving tub he took up 50 guns and anchors and cables, which he brought home, and ſome gold and ſilver alſo which he got by trade, and ſo, thro' the Lord's bleſſing, they made a good voyage, which did much encourage the merchants, and made wine and ſugar and cotton very plentiful and cheap in the country. 1643.

Two catchers alſo which were gone to the W. Indies for cotton &c. arrived ſafe not long after, and made return with profit. Another ſhip alſo called the Increaſe ſent to the Madeiras returned ſafe, and two other ſhips after tho' they went among the Turks.

There was a piece of juſtice executed at New-Haven, which being the firſt in that kind, is not unworthy to be recorded. Mr. Malbon one of the magiſtrates there had a daughter about years of age which was openly whipped, her father joining in the ſentence. The cauſe was thus.

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The wife of one Oymoe of Roxbury died in great deſpair: ſhe had been a ſervant there, and was very ſtubborn and ſelfwilled. After ſhe was married ſhe grew very worldly, aiming at great matters: her firſtchild was ſtill born; thro' her unrulineſs and falling into a fever—ſhe fell withal into great horror and trembling, ſo as it ſhook the room &c. and crying out of her torment, and of her ſtubborneſs and unprofitableneſs under the means, and her lying to her dame in denying ſomewhat that in liquor ſhe had taken away, and of her worldlineſs, ſaying 'that ſhe neglected her ſpiritual good for a little worldly traſh, and now ſhe muſt go to everlaſting torments, and exhorted others to take heed of ſuch evils &c. and ſtill crying out O! ten thouſand worlds for one drop of Chriſt &c. After ſhe had then been ſilent a few hours ſhe began to ſpeak again, and being exhorted to conſider of God's infinite mercy &c. ſhe gave ſtill this anſwer, "I cannot for my life," and ſo died.

The three miniſters which were ſent to Virginia, viz. Mr. Tomſon, Mr. Knolles and Mr. James from New-Haven, departed (8) 7. and were eleven weeks before they arrived. They lay wind-bound ſometime at Aquiday: then as they paſſed Hellgate between Long Iſland and the Dutch, their pinnace was bilged upon the rocks, ſo as ſhe was near founder'd before they could run on the next ſhore. The Dutch Governor gave them ſlender en-

1643. entertainment, but Mr. Allerton of New Haven being there, took great pains and care for them, and procured them a very good pinnace and all things neceſſary, ſo they ſet ſail in the dead of winter, and had much foul weather, ſo as with great difficulty and danger they arrived ſafe in Virginia; here they found very loving and liberal entertainment, and were beſtowed in ſeveral places, not by the Governor, but by ſome well diſpoſed people who deſired their company. In their way the difficulties and dangers which they were continually exerciſed with, put them to ſome queſtion whether their call were of God or not, but ſo ſoon as they arrived there and had been ſomewhat refreſhed, Mr. Tomſon wrote back, that being a very melancholic man and of a crazy body, he found his health ſo repaired, and his ſpirit ſo enlarged &c. as he had not been in the like condition ſince he came to New-England, but this was to ſtrengthen him for a greater trial, for his wife, a godly young woman, and a comfortable help to him, being left behind with a company of ſmall children, was taken away by death, and all his children ſcattered, but well diſpoſed of among his godly friends.

(4) 20. Mr. Knolles returned from Virginia and brought letters from his congregation and others there to our elders, which were openly read in Boſton at a lecture, whereby it appeared that God had greatly bleſſed their miniſtry there, ſo as the people's hearts were much inflamed with deſire after the ordinances, and though the ſtate did ſilence the miniſters becauſe they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people reſorted to them in private houſes to hear them as before.

There fell out hot wars between the Dutch and the indians thereabout. The occaſion was this. An indian being drunk, had ſlain an old dutchman—the dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called often upon the Governor to take revenge, but he ſtill put it off, either for that he thought it not juſt or not ſafe &c. It fell out that the Mowhawks, a people that live upon or near Hudſon's river, either upon their own quarrel, or rather, as the report went, being ſet on by the dutch, came ſuddenly upon the indians near the dutch and killed about 30 of them, the reſt fled for ſhelter to the dutch. One Marine a dutch captain hearing of it, goeth to the Governor, and obtains commiſſion of him to kill ſo many as he could of them, and accordingly

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went with a company of armed men, and ſetting upon them, fearing no ill from the dutch, he ſlew about 70 or 80 men women and children. Upon this the indians burnt divers of their farm houſes and their cattle in them, and ſlew all they could meet with to the number of 20 or more of men women and children, and preſſed ſo hard upon the dutch, even home to their fort, that they were forced to call in the Engliſh to their aid, and entertained Capt. Underhill &c. which Marine, the dutch captain, took ſo ill, ſeeing the Governor to prefer him before himſelf, that he preſented his piſtol at the Governor, but was ſtaid by a ſtanderby; then a tenant of Marine diſcharg'd his muſket at the Governor, but miſſed him narrowly; whereupon the ſentinel, by the Governor's command, ſhot that fellow preſently dead. His head was ſet upon the gallows, and the captain was ſent priſoner into Holland. The people alſo were ſo offended at the Governor for the damage they now ſuſtained by the indians, tho' they were all for war before, that the Governor durſt not truſt himſelf among them, but entertained a guard of 50 Engliſh about his perſon, and the indians did ſo annoy them by ſudden aſſaults out of the ſwamps &c. that he was forced to keep a running army to be ready to oppoſe them upon all occaſions. 1643.

The indians alſo of Long Iſland took part with their neighbours upon the main, and as the dutch took away their corn &c. ſo they fell to burning the Dutch houſes; but theſe by the mediation of Mr. Williams who was then there to go in a dutch ſhip for England, were pacified, and peace reeſtabliſhed between the dutch and them. At length they came to an accord of peace with the reſt of the indians alſo.

One Jo. Cook an honeſt young man being in his maſters abſence to ſalute a ſhip &c. in the vanity of his mind, thought to make the gun give a great report, and accordingly ſaid to ſome that he would make her ſpeak— overcharging her ſhe brake all into ſmall pieces and ſcatter'd round about ſome men a ſlight ſhot off; himſelf was killed, but no hurt found about him but only one hand cut off and beaten a good diſtance from the place where he ſtood: and there appeared a ſpecial providence of God in it, for altho' there were many people up and down, yet none was hurt, nor was any near the gun when ſhe was fired, whereas uſually they gather thither on ſuch occaſions. 23

1643. One of our ſhips the Seabridge arrived with 20 children and ſome other paſſengers out of England, and £300 worth of goods purchaſed with the country's ſtock —given by ſome friends in England the year before; and thoſe children with many more to come after, were ſent by money given one faſt day in London, and allowed by the parliament and city far that purpoſe.

The houſe of commons alſo made an order in our favor which was ſent us under the hand of H. Effinge. Clerk Parl. D. C. to this effect, viz. 10th March 1642. Whereas the plantations in New-England have, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, had good and proſperous ſucceſs without any charge to this ſtate, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the goſpel in thoſe parts, and very beneficial and commodious for this kingdom and nation.—The commons now aſſembled in parliament do, for the better advancement of theſe plantations and encouragement of the planters &c. ordain that all merchandizes, goods exported &c. into New-England to be ſpent, uſed or employed there as being of the growth of that country, ſhall, imported hither, or put aboard to be ſpent &c. in the voyage going or returning, and all and every the owners thereof, be free of all cuſtom &c. in England and New-England and all other ports, until this houſe ſhall take further order. This to be obſerved and allowed by all officers and perſons whatſoever upon ſhewing forth of this order. Signed by the ſaid clerk without any other warrant. Our general court, upon receipt of this order, cauſed the ſame, with our humble and thankful acknowledgment of ſo great a favor from that honorable aſſembly, to be entered verbatim among our records, *in perpetua rei memoria.*

One Richard ſervant to one Williams of Dorcheſter, being come out of ſervice, fell to work at his own hand and took great wages above others, and would not work but for ready money. By this means in a year, or little more, he had ſcraped together about £25 and then returned with his prey into England, ſpeaking evil of the country by the way: he was not gone far, after his arrival, but the cavaliers met him and eaſed him of his money, ſo he knew no better way but to return to N. England again to repair his loſs in that place which he had ſo much diſparaged.

Mo. 3. 10 Our court of elections was held, when Mr. Ez. Rogers, paſtor of the church in Rowlye, preached. He was call-

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ed to it by a company of freemen, whereof the moſt were deputies choſen for the court, appointed by order of the laſt court to meet at Salem about nomination of ſome to be put to the vote for the new magiſtrates. Mr. Rogers hearing what exception was taken to this call, as unwarrantable, wrote to the Governor for advice &c. who returned him anſwer—That he did account his calling not to be ſufficient, yet the magiſtrates were not minded to ſtrive with the deputies about it, but ſeeing it was noiſed in the country, and the people would expect him, and that he had adviſed with the magiſtrates about it, he wiſhed him to go on. In his ſermon he deſcribed how the man ought to be qualified whom they ſhould chooſe for their Governor, yet diſſuaded them earneſtly from chooſing the ſame man twice together, and expreſſed his diſlike of that with ſuch vehemency as gave offence; but when it came to trial the former Governor Mr. Winthrop was choſen again, and two more magiſtrates, Mr. William Hibbins and Mr. Samuel Simons. 1643. Mo. 3.

At this court came the commiſſioners from Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven. viz. From Plimouth Mr. Edward Winſlow and Mr. Collins—from Connecticut Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins, with whom Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook joined—from New-Haven Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Grigſon. Our court choſe a committee to treat with them, viz. the Governor and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradſtreet, being of the magiſtrates; and of the deputies, Capt. Gibbons, Mr. T. the treaſurer, and Mr. Hathorn. Theſe coming to conſultation encountered ſome difficulties, but being all deſirous of union and ſtudious of peace, they readily yielded each to other in ſuch things as tended to common utility &c. ſo as in ſome two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon theſe enſuing articles, which being allowed by our court, and ſigned by all the commiſſioners, were ſent to be alſo ratified by the general courts of other juriſdictions; only Plimouth commiſſioners having power only to treat, but not to determine, deferred the ſigning of them 'till they came home, but ſoon after they were ratified by their general court alſo.

Thoſe of Sir Ferdinand Gorge his province beyond Piſcat: were not received nor called into the confederation becauſe they ran a different courſe from us both in their miniſtry and civil adminiſtration, for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had

1643. had made a taylor their mayor, and had entertained one Mr. Hull an excommunicated perſon and very contentious, for their miniſter.

At this court of elections there aroſe a ſcruple about the oath which the Governor and the reſt of the magiſtrates were to take, viz. about the firſt part of it—"You ſhall bear true faith and allegiance to our ſovereign Lord King Charles"—ſeeing he had violated the privileges of parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had loſt much of his kingdom and many of his ſubjects; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the preſent.

About this time two plantations began to be ſettled upon Merrimack, Pentuckett called Haverill and C . called Andover.

The Articles of Confederation, between the plantations under the government of the Maſſachuſetts, the plantations under the government of New-Plimouth, the plantations under the government of Connecticut and the government of New-Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith:

WHEREAS we all came into theſe parts of America with one and the ſame end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to enjoy the liberties of the goſpel in purity with peace: and whereas by our ſettling, by the wiſe providence of God, we are further diſperſed upon the ſeacoaſts and rivers than was at firſt intended, ſo that we cannot, according to our deſire, with convenience communicate in one government and juriſdiction: and whereas we live encompaſſed with people of ſeveral nations and ſtrange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our poſterity; and for as much as the natives have formerly committed ſundry inſolencies and outrages upon ſeveral plantations of the engliſh, and have of late combined themſelves againſt us, and ſeeing by reaſon of the ſad diſtractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of ſeeking advice and reaping thoſe comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect—we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty without delay, to enter into a preſent conſociation amongſt ourſelves for mutual help and ſtrength in all future concernment, that as in nation and religion, ſo in other reſpects,

we

we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the enſuing articles— 1643.

1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded between the parties above named, and they jointly and ſeverally do, by theſe preſents, agree and conclude that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New-England.

2. Theſe united colonies, for themſelves and their poſterities, do jointly and ſeverally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendſhip and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and ſuccour upon all juſt occaſions, both for preſerving and propagating the truth and liberties of the goſpel, and for their own mutual ſafety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed, that the plantations which at preſent are, or hereafter ſhall be ſettled within the limits of the Maſſachuſetts, ſhall be forever under the government of the Maſſachuſetts, and ſhall have peculiar juriſdiction amongſt themſelves in all caſes as an entire body; and that Plimouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven ſhall each of them in all reſpects have like peculiar juriſdiction and government within their limits, and in reference to the plantations which are already ſettled, or ſhall hereafter be erected and ſhall ſettle within any of their limits reſpectively, provided that no other juriſdiction ſhall hereafter be taken in as a diſtinct head or member of this confederation; nor ſhall any other either plantation or juriſdiction in preſent being, and not already in combination or under the juriſdiction of any of theſe confederates, be received by any of them: nor ſhall any two of theſe confederates join in one juriſdiction without conſent of the reſt, which conſent to be interpreted as in the 6th enſuing article is expreſſed.

4. It is alſo by theſe confederates agreed, that the charge of all juſt wars, whether offenſive or defenſive, upon what part or member of this confederation ſoever they ſhall fall, ſhall, both in men and proviſions and all other diſburſments, be borne by all the parts of this confederation in different proportions, according to their different abilities, in manner following, viz. That the commiſſioners for each juriſdiction, from time to time as there ſhall be occaſion, bring account and number of all the males in each plantation, or any way belonging to or under their ſeveral juriſdictions, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, from ſixteen years old to ſixty, being inhabitants there, and that according to the different

1643. numbers which from time to time ſhall be found in each juriſdiction upon a true and juſt account—the ſervice of men and all charges of the war to be borne by the poll—each juriſdiction or plantation being left to their own juſt courſe or cuſtom of rating themſelves and people according to their different eſtates, with due reſpect to their qualities and exemptions among themſelves, though the confederation take no notice of any ſuch privilege, and that according to the different charge of each juriſdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war (if it pleaſe God ſo to bleſs their endeavours) whether it be in lands, goods or perſons, ſhall be proportionably divided among the ſaid confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of theſe juriſdictions, or any plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whatſoever, upon notice and requeſt of any three magiſtrates of that juriſdiction ſo invaded, the reſt of the confederates without any further notice or expoſtulation, ſhall forthwith ſend aid to the confederate in danger, but in different proportions, namely, the Maſſachuſetts one hundred men ſufficient armed and provided for ſuch a ſervice and journey: and each of the reſt, 45 men ſo armed and provided, or any leſs number, if leſs be required, according to this proportion. But if ſuch a confederate in danger may be ſupplied by their next confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help there, and ſeek no further for the preſent; the charge to be borne as in this article is expreſſed, and at their return to be victualled, and ſupplied with powder and ſhot, if there be need, for their journey, by that juriſdiction which employed or ſent for them: but none of the juriſdictions to exceed theſe numbers 'till by a meeting of the commiſſioners for this confederation a greater aid appear neceſſary; and this proportion to continue 'till upon knowledge of the numbers in each juriſdiction, which ſhall be brought to the next meeting, ſome other proportion be ordered. But in any ſuch caſe of ſending men for preſent aid, whether before or after ſuch order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the commiſſioners for this confederation, the cauſe of ſuch war or invaſion be duly conſidered, and if it appear that the fault lay in the party invaded, that then that juriſdiction or plantation make juſt ſatisfaction both to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all the charge of the war themſelves without re-

requiting any allowance from the reſt of the confederates towards the ſame. And further, that if any juriſdiction ſee any danger of an invaſion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in ſuch caſe three magiſtrates of that juriſdiction may ſummons a meeting at ſuch convenient place as themſelves ſhall think meet, to conſider and provide againſt the threatened danger; provided when they are met, they may remove to what place they pleaſe: only while any of theſe four confederates have but three magiſtrates in their juriſdiction, a requeſt or ſummons from any two of them ſhall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauſes of this article, 'till there be an increaſe of magiſtrates there. 1643.

6. It is alſo agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all affairs peculiar to and concerning the whole confederation, commiſſioners ſhall be choſen by and out of each of theſe four juriſdictions, viz. two for the Maſſachuſetts, two for Plimouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New-Haven, all in church fellowſhip with us, which ſhall bring full power from their ſeveral general courts reſpectively, to hear, examine, weigh and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges and numbers of men for war, diviſion of ſpoils, or whatever is gotten by conqueſt—receiving of more confederates or plantations into the combination with any of theſe confederates, and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or conſequents of ſuch a confederation, for amity, offence and defence, not intermeddling with the government of any of the juriſdictions, which by the 3d article is preſerved entirely to themſelves. But if thoſe 8 commiſſioners when they meet, ſhall not agree, yet it is concluded that any ſix of the eight agreeing, ſhall have power to ſettle and determine the buſineſs in queſtion; but if ſix do not agree, that then ſuch propoſitions, with their reaſons, ſo far as they have been debated, be ſent and referred to the four general courts, viz. the Maſſachuſetts, Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven: and if at all the ſaid general courts the buſineſs ſo referred be concluded, then to be proſecuted by the confederation and all their members.

It is further agreed that thoſe eight commiſſioners ſhall meet once every year (beſides extraordinary meetings according to the 5th article) to conſider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this confederation, which meet-

1643. meeting ſhall ever be the firſt Thurſday in 7ber. and that the next meeting after the date of theſe preſents (which ſhall be accounted the 2d meeting) ſhall be at Boſton in the Maſſachuſetts—the 3d at Hartford—the 4th at New-Haven—the 5th at Plimouth, and ſo in courſe ſucceſſively, if in the mean time ſome middle place be not found out and agreed upon, which may be commodious for all the juriſdictions.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of theſe eight commiſſioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they all, or any ſix of them agreeing as before, may chooſe their preſident out of themſelves, whoſe office and work ſhall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in their preſent meeting, but he ſhall be inveſted with no ſuch power or reſpect, as by which he ſhall hinder the propounding or progreſs of any buſineſs, or any way caſt the ſcales otherwiſe than in the proceeding articles is agreed.

8. It is alſo agreed that the commiſſioners for this confederation hereafter at their meeting, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commiſſion or opportunity, do endeavour to frame and eſtabliſh agreements and orders in general caſes of a civil nature wherein all the plantations are intereſted for preſerving peace amongſt themſelves, and preventing as much as may be, all occaſions of war or differences with others, as about free and ſpeedy paſſage of juſtice in each juriſdiction to all the confederates equally, as to their own receiving thoſe that remove from one plantation to another without due certificates—how all the juriſdictions may carry it towards the indians that they neither grow inſolent nor be injured without due ſatisfaction, leſt war break in upon the confederates through miſcarriages. It is alſo agreed that if any ſervant run away from his maſter into any of theſe confederate juriſdictions, that in ſuch caſe, upon certificate of one magiſtrate in the juriſdiction out of which the ſaid ſervant fled, or upon other due proof, the ſaid ſervant ſhall be delivered either to his maſter or any other that purſues and brings ſuch certificate or proof: And that upon the eſcape of any priſoner or fugitive for any criminal cauſe, whether breaking priſon or getting from the officer, or otherwiſe eſcaping, upon the certificate of two magiſtrates of the juriſdiction out of which the eſcape is made, that he was a priſoner or ſuch an offender at the time of the eſcape, the magiſtrate, or ſome of them

of

of the juriſdiction where for the preſent the ſaid priſoner or fugitive abideth, ſhall forthwith grant ſuch a warrant as the caſe will bear, for the apprehending of any ſuch perſon and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or other perſon who purſueth him; and if there be help required for the ſafe returning of any ſuch offender, then it ſhall be granted unto him that craves the ſame, he paying the charges thereof. 1643.

9. And for that the juſteſt wars may be of dangerous conſequence, eſpecially to the ſmaller plantations in theſe united cōlonies, it is agreed, that neither the Maſſachuſetts, Plimouth, Connecticut nor New-Haven, nor any of the members of any of them, ſhall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themſelves or this confederation, or any part thereof in any war whatſoever (ſudden exigencies with the neceſſary conſequences thereof excepted, which are alſo to be moderated as much as the caſe will permit) without the conſent and agreement of the aforenamed eight commiſſioners, or at leaſt ſix of them, as in the 6th article is provided; and that no charge be required of any of the confederates, in caſe of a defenſive war 'till the ſaid commiſſioners have met and approved the juſtice of the war, and have agreed upon the ſum of money to be levied, which ſum is then to be paid by the ſeveral confederates in proportion according to the 4th article.

10. That in extraordinary occaſions, when meetings are ſummoned by three magiſtrates of any juriſdiction, or two, as in the 5th article, if any of the commiſſioners come not, due warning being given or ſent, it is agreed that four of the commiſſioners ſhall have power to direct a war which cannot be detained, and to ſend for due proportions of men out of each juriſdiction, as well as ſix might do if all met; but not leſs than ſix ſhall determine the juſtice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cauſe any levies to be made for the ſame.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the confederates ſhall hereafter break any of theſe preſent articles, or be otherway injurious to any one of the other juriſdictions, ſuch breach of agreement or injury ſhall be duly conſidered and ordered by the commiſſioners for the other juriſdictions, that both peace, and this preſent confederation may be entirely preſerved without violation.

12. Laſtly, this perpetual confederation, and the ſeveral articles and agreements thereof being read and ſeri-

1643. ouſly conſidered both by the general court for the Maſſachuſetts and the commiſſioners for the other three, were ſubſcribed preſently by the commiſſioners all ſave thoſe of Plimouth, who, for want of ſufficient commiſſion from their general court, deferred their ſubſcription 'till the next meeting, and then they ſubſcribed alſo, and were to be allowed by the general courts of the ſeveral juriſdictions, which accordingly was done, and certified at the next meeting held at Boſton (7) 7. 1643.

Boſton, (3) 29. 1643.

(4) 12. Mr. La Tour arrived here in a ſhip of 140 tons and 140 perſons. The ſhip came from Rochelle, the maſter and his company were proteſtants: there were two friars and two women ſent to wait upon La Tour his lady. They came in with a fair wind without any notice taken of them. They took a pilot out of one of our boats at ſea, and left one of their men in his place. Capt. Gibbons' wife and children paſſed by the ſhip as they were going to their farm, but being diſcovered to La Tour by one of his gentlemen who knew him, La Tour manned out a ſhallop which he towed after him to go ſpeak with her. She ſeeing ſuch a company of ſtrangers making towards her, haſtened to get from them, and landed at the Governor's garden. La Tour landed preſently after her, and there found the Governor and his wife, and two of his ſons, and his ſon's wife, and after mutual ſalutations he told the Governor the cauſe of his coming, viz. that this ſhip being ſent him out of France, D'Aulnay his old enemy had ſo blocked up the river to his fort at St. John's with two ſhips and a galliot, as his ſhip could not get in, whereupon he ſtole by in the night in his ſhallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The Governor anſwered that he could ſay nothing to it 'till he had conferred with other of the magiſtrates: ſo after ſupper he went with him to Boſton in La Tour's boat, having ſent his own boat to Boſton to carry home Mrs. Gibbons. Divers boats having paſſed by him, had given notice hereof to Boſton and Charleſtown, his ſhip alſo arriving before Boſton, the towns betook them to their arms, and three ſhallops with armed men came forth to meet the Governor and to guard him home. But here the Lord gave us occaſion to take notice of our weakneſs &c. for if La Tour had been ill minded towards us, he had ſuch an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other ſhall ever have the like again; for coming by our caſtle and

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ſaluting it, there was none to anſwer him, for the laſt court had given order to have the caſtle iſland deſerted, a great part of the work being fallen down &c. ſo as he might have taken all the ordonance there, then, having the Governor and his family, and Capt. Gibbons' wife &c. in his power, he might have gone and ſpoiled Boſton, and having ſo many men ready, they might have taken two ſhips in the harbour and gone away without danger or reſiſtance, but his neglecting this opportunity, gave us aſſurance of his true meaning, ſo being landed at Boſton, the Governor with a ſufficient guard, brought him to his lodging at Capt. Gibbons'. This gave further aſſurance that he intended us no evil, becauſe he voluntarily put his perſon in our power. The next day the Governor called together ſuch of the magiſtrates as were at hand, and ſome of the deputies, and propounding the cauſe to them, and La Tour being preſent and the captain of his ſhip &c. he ſhewed his commiſſion which was fairly engroſſed in parchment under the hand and ſeal of the Vice Admiral of France, and grand prior &c. to bring ſupply to La Tour, whom he ſtiled his majeſty's lieut. general of L'Acadye, and alſo a letter from the agent of the company of France to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulnay againſt him, and adviſing him to look to himſelf &c and ſuperſcribed him as Lieut. General &c. Upon this it appeared to us (that being dated in April laſt) that notwithſtanding the news which D'Aulnay had ſent to our Governor, the laſt year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, &c. yet he ſtood in good terms with the ſtate of France, and alſo with the company. Whereupon, tho' we could not grant him aid without advice of the other commiſſioners of our confederacy, yet we thought it not fit nor juſt to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him, and accordingly we anſwered him that we would allow him a free mercature, that he might hire any ſhips which lay in our harbour &c. This anſwer he was well ſatisfied with and took very thankfully; he alſo deſired leave to land his men that they might refreſh themſelves, which was granted him, ſo they landed in ſmall companies that our women &c. might not be affrighted by them. This direction was duly obſerved. But the training day at Boſton falling out the next week, and La Tour having requeſted that he might be permitted to exerciſe his ſoldiers on ſhore, we expected him that day, ſo he landed 40 men in their 1643.

arms

6143. arms (they were all ſhot) they were brought into the field by our train band conſiſting of 150, and in the forenoon they only beheld our men exerciſe. When they had dined (La Tour & his officers with our officers, & his ſoldiers invited home by the private ſoldiers) in the afternoon they were permitted to exerciſe (our Governor and other of the magiſtrates coming then into the field) and all ours ſtood and beheld them. They were very expert in all their poſtures and motions. When it was near night La Tour deſired our Governor that his men might have leave to depart, which being granted, his captain acquainted our captain therewith, ſo he drew our men into a march and the French fell into the middle—when they were to depart they gave a volley of ſhot and went to their boat, the French ſhewing much admiration to ſee ſo many men of one town ſo well armed and diſciplined, La Tour profeſſing he could not have believed it if he had not ſeen it. Our Governor and others in the town entertained La Tour and his gentlemen with much courteſy both in their houſes and at table. La Tour came duly to our church meetings, and always accompanied the Governor to and from thence, who all the time of his abode here was attended with a good guard of halberds and muſketteers. Thoſe who engroſſed the ſhips underſtanding his diſtreſs and the juſtice of his cauſe and the magiſtrates permiſſion, were willing to be entertained by him. But the rumour of theſe things ſoon ſpreading thro' the country, were diverſly apprehended, not only by the common ſort, but alſo by the elders, whereof ſome in their ſermons ſpoke againſt their entertainment, and the aid permitted them; others ſpake in the juſtification of both. One a judicious miniſter, hearing that leave was granted them to exerciſe their men in Boſton, out of his fear of popiſh leagues and care of our ſafety, ſpake as in way of prediction, that before that day were ended, ſtore of blood would be ſpilled in Boſton. Divers alſo wrote to the Governor laying before him great dangers; others charging ſin upon the conſcience in all theſe proceedings, ſo as he was forced to write and publiſh the true ſtate of the cauſe and the reaſons of all their proceedings, which ſatisfied many, but not all. Alſo the maſters and others who were to go in the ſhips, deſired advice about their proceedings &c.—whereupon the Governor appointed another meeting to which all the new magiſtrates and deputies and the elders alſo were called, and there the matter was debated upon theſe heads.

1. Whether it were lawful for chriſtians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them? 1643.

2. Whether it were ſafe for our ſtate to ſuffer him to have aid from us againſt D'Aulnay?

To the 1ſt queſtion the arguments on the negative part were theſe. 1. Jehoſh: is reproved for the like, wouldſt thou help the wicked?—The anſwer to this was, firſt—This muſt be meant only in ſuch caſe as that was, not ſimply according to the words of that one ſentence taken apart from the reſt, for otherwiſe it would be unlawful to help any wicked man tho' a profeſſed proteſtant, and tho' our own countryman, father, brother &c. and that in any caſe tho' ready to be drowned, ſlain, famiſhed &c. 2. Jehoſh: aided him in a brotherly league of amity and affinity—I am as thou art—my people as thy people &c. 3. Ahab was declared a wicked man by God, and denounced to deſtruction. 3. Ahab was in no diſtreſs, and ſo needed no aid. 2. argument. Jehoſh: joining after with Ahazia in making ſhips, is reproved &c. Anſwer. There is difference between helping a man in diſtreſs, which is a duty impoſed, and joining in a courſe of merchandize where the action is voluntary; and it appears by this their joining, that the league of amity continued between the two kingdoms. 3. argument. Joſias did evil in aiding the king of Babylon againſt Pharaoh Necho. Anſ. 1. The king of Babylon was in no diſtreſs, nor did deſire his help, nor is it ſaid he intended his aid. 2. Joſias no doubt did not break any known general rule, being ſo ſtrict an obſerver of all God's commandments; for it was not unlawful for him to ſtop Pharaoh's army from going thro' his country, but his ſin was, that either he did not believe the meſſage of God by Pharaoh in that particular caſe, or did not inquire further about it from his own prophets, and ſo it is expreſſed in that ſtory, 4. argument, Amaziah king of Judah is reproved for hiring an army out of Iſrael becauſe God was near with Iſrael. Ans. This is not to the queſtion, which is of giving aid, and not of hiring aid from others, nor was Amaziah in any diſtreſs, but only ſought to enlarge his dominion. 5. argument. By aiding papiſts we advance and ſtrengthen popery. Ans. 1. We are not to omit things neceſſary and lawful for a doubtful ill conſequence, which is but accidental. 2. Such aid may as well work to the weakening of popery by winning ſome of them to the love of the truth, as hath ſometimes fallen out, and ſometimes

1643. times by ſtrengthning one part of them againſt another, they may both be the more weakened in the end.

For the 2d queſtion, whether it be ſafe &c. the arguguments on the negative part were theſe. 1. Papiſts are not to be truſted ſeeing it is one of their tenets that they are not to keep promiſe with heretics. Ans. In this caſe we rely not upon their faith but their intereſt, it being for their advantage to hold in with us, we may ſafely truſt them; beſides we ſhall not need to hazard ourſelves upon their fidelity, having ſufficient ſtrength to ſecure ourſelves. 2. argument, We may provoke the ſtate of France againſt us, or at leaſt D'Aulnay, and ſo be brought into another war. Ans. It appears by the commiſſion and letter before mentioned, that La Tour ſtands in good terms with the ſtate of France and the company &c. It is uſual in all ſtates in Europe to ſuffer aid to be hired againſt their confederates without any breach of the peace, as by the ſtates of Holland againſt the Spaniards, and by both out of England, without any breach of the peace, or offence to either. As for D'Aulnay he hath carried himſelf ſo as we could look for no other but ill meaſures from him if he were able, tho' we ſhould not permit La Tour to have help from us, for he hath taken Penobſcoott from us with our goods to a great value. He made prize of our men and goods alſo at Iſle Sable, and kept our men as ſlaves a good ſpace, but never made ſatisfaction for our goods; likewiſe he entertained our ſervants which ran from us, and refuſeth to return them being demanded: he alſo furniſheth the indians about us with guns and powder; and laſtly, he wrote laſt year to our Governor forbidding our veſſels to paſs beyond his fort in the open ſea, and threatening to make prize of he ſhould meet &c. and if the worſt ſhould happen that can be feared, yet if our way be lawful, and we innocent from wrong &c. we may and muſt truſt God with our ſafety ſo long as we ſerve his providence in the uſe of ſuch means as he affords us. 3. argument. Solomon tells us that he that meddleth with a ſtrife which belongs not to him takes a dog by the ear, which is very dangerous. Ans. This is a ſtrife which doth belong to us both in reſpect of La Tour ſeeking aid of us in his diſtreſs, and alſo in reſpect it ſo much concerns us to have D'Aulnay ſubdued or weakened: and it were not wiſdom in us to ſtop the courſe of providence which offers to do that for us without our charge, which we are like otherwiſe to be forced

to

to undertake at our own charge. 4. It is not safe to permit this aid to go from us, especially without advice of the general court, lest it should miscarry, and so prove a dishonor and weakening to us. Ans. 1. For the General Court, it could not have been assembled under fourteen days, and such delay, besides the necessary charge it would have put La Tour unto and ourselves also by the strong watches we are forced to keep, it might have lost the opportunity of relieving him, or it might have put him upon some dangerous design of surprising our ships &c. Besides, if the court had been assembled, we knew they would not have given him aid without consent of the commissioners of the other colonies, and for a bare permission, we might do it without the court; and to have deferred this needlessly had been against that rule—Say not as thy neighbours go and come again, and tomorrow I will give thee, when there is power in their hands to do it. As for the danger of miscarriage, it is not so much as in other our voyages to Spain or England or &c. and if the rule be safe that we walk by, the success cannot alter it. 5. We hear only one party, we should as well hear the other, otherwise we deal not judicially, and perhaps may aid a man in an unjust quarrel. Ans. 1. We heard formerly D'Aulnay's allegations against La Tour, and notwithstanding all that, La Tour his cause appears just; for they being both the subjects of the same prince, the ship coming by permission from their prince's authority, D'Aulnay ought to permit him to enter peaceably. 2. Our men that go will first offer parley with D'Aulnay, and if La Tour his cause be unjust, they are not to offend the others. 3. La Tour being now in desperate distress, he is first to be succoured before the cause be further inquired into according to the example of Abraham, who hearing of the distress of his kinsman Lot, staid not 'till he might send to Chedorlaomer to have his answer about the justice of his cause, ye there was strong presumption that his cause was just, and that Lot and all the rest were lawful prisoners, for they had been twelve years his subjects and were in rebellion at this time, but he stays not to inquire out the cause, the distress not permitting it, but goes personally to rescue them: As put case—An englishman or spaniard should be driven into our harbour by a pirate, and should come and inform us so, and desire us to let him have aid to convey him safe to sea, might we not lawfully send out aid with him before we had sent to the

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1643. the pirate to understand the cause; it would be time enough to demand that when our aid came up with him. So if our neighbouring indians should send to us to desire aid against some other indians who were coming to destroy them, should we first send to the other indians to inquire the justice of the cause? no, but we should first send to save them, and after examine the cause.

The arguments on the affirmative part are many of them touched in the former answers to the arguments on the other part—the rest are these. 1. By the law thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. If our neighbour be in distress we ought to help him without any respect to religion or other quality, but an idolator in distress is our neighbour, as appears by that parable, Luke 10. where it is plainly concluded that the Samaritan was neighbour to the distressed traveller, and our Saviour bids the lawyer, being a jew, to do likewise,—that is, even to a Samaritan if in distress, and by the law of relations the distressed jew was neighbour to the Samaritan, and the Samaritan in distress should have been so to him, tho' as opposite in religion as protestants and papists. If such an one be not our neighbour, then we have no relation to him by any command of the 2d table, for that requires us to love our neighbour only, and then we may deceive, beat, and otherwise damnify him and not sin, &c. 2d. argument out of Gal. 6. 10. Do good to all, but specially to the household of faith, by which it appears that under all, he includes such as were not believers, and those were heathen idolaters, and if we must do good to such, we must help them in distress. 3. We are exhorted to be like our Heavenly Father in doing good to the just and unjust, that is to all, as occasion is offered, even such as he causeth the sun to shine upon, and the rain to fall upon, tho' excommunicated persons, blasphemers and persecutors, yet if they be in distress, we are to do them good, and therefore to relieve them. 4. We may hold some kind of communion with idolaters, as 1. We may have peace with them—2. commerce. Ezek. 27. 17. speaking of Tyrus who were idolaters, he sayeth, Judah were thy merchants in wheat &c. and the Jews were not forbidden to trade with the heathen in Nehemiah's time so it were not on the sabbath. 3. In eating and drinking and such like familiar converse, 1 Cor. 10. if an heathen invite a christian to his table he might go &c. and so he might as well invite such to his table, as Solomon did

did the queen of Sheba and the embaſſadors of other princes round about him, who would not have reſorted to him as they did if he had not entertained them courteouſly, and he both received preſents and gave preſents to the queen of Sheba, and others who were then idolaters— and Neh. 5. 17. he ſayeth, that with the Jews there were alſo at his table uſually ſuch of the heathen as came to him: ſo that it was not then (nor indeed at all by the law) unlawful for the Jews to eat with heathen, tho' the Phariſees made it unlawful by their tradition. The 4th and laſt kind of communion is ſuccour in diſtreſs. 1643.

To the 2d queſtion the arguments on the affirmative part were theſe, with others expreſſed before in the anſwers. 1. D'Aulnay is a dangerous neighbour to us if he have none to oppoſe him or to keep him employed at home, he will certainly be dealing with us, but if La Tour be not now helpen, he is undone, his fort with his wife, children and ſervants will all be taken, he hath no place to go unto—this ſhip cannot carry back him and all his company to France, but will leave them on ſhore here, and how ſafe it will be for us to keep them, is doubtful, but to let them go will be more dangerous, for they muſt then go to D'Aulnay, and that will ſtrengthen him greatly both by their number, and ſtill alſo by their preſent knowledge of our ſtate and place, which, in regard of our own ſafety, lays a neceſſity upon us of aiding La Tour, and aiding him ſo as he may ſubſiſt, and be able to make good his place againſt his enemy. 2. La Tour being in urgent diſtreſs, and therefore as our neighbour to be releived; if it be well done of us, we may truſt in God, and not be afraid of any terror, 1 Peter 3. 6. 3. It will be no wiſdom for D'Aulnay to begin with us, for he knows how much ſtronger we are than he in men and ſhipping, and ſome experience we have had hereof, in that when our friends of Plimouth hired a ſhip in our harbour and therewith went and battered his houſe at Penobſcott, yet he took no occaſion thereby againſt us, nor ever attempted any thing againſt them, tho' their trading houſe at Kennebeck be an hindrance to him, and eaſy for him to take at his pleaſure.

There were other inſtances brought to the lawfulneſs both in Joſhua his aiding the Gibeonites who were Canaanites and had deluded him, and he might hereupon have left them to be ſpoiled by their neighbours. So when Jehoſh. aided Jehorim againſt Moab (for he had

1643. put away Baal) Eliſha ſpeaks honorably to him and doth not reprove him but for his preſence ſake ſaves their houſe by miracle &c.

The like rumors and fears were raiſed upon our firſt expedition againſt the Pequods, 1636. The Governor of Plimouth wrote to Mr. Winthrop the deputy Governor, in diſlike of our attempt, and in apprehenſion of the great danger we had incurred that we had provoked the Pequods, and no more, and had thereby occaſioned a war &c. But we found thro' the Lord's ſpecial mercy, that that provocation and war proved a bleſſing to all the engliſh. Our brethren of Connecticut wrote alſo to us declaring their fears, and the danger we had caſt them into by warring upon the Pequods &c. and indeed we committed an error in that we did not firſt give them notice of our intention, that they might take the more care of their own ſafety, but they could not be ignorant of our preparations.

The Governor by letters informed the reſt of the commiſſioners of the united colonies of what had paſſed about La Tour—but the reaſon why he did not defer him at firſt for his anſwer 'till ſome more of the magiſtrates and deputies might have been aſſembled, and the elders likewiſe conſulted with, was this. Conceiving that he ſtood ſtill under the ſame ſentence of the arreſt from the ſtate of France, there would have been no need of advice in the caſe, for we muſt have given him the ſame anſwer we gave his lieutenant the laſt year and upon the ſame ground, viz, That however he might trade here for ſuch commodities as he ſtood in need of, yet he could expect no aid from us, for it would not be fit nor ſafe for us to do that which might juſtly provoke the ſtate of France againſt us—but being met, and ſeeing the commiſſion from the vice admiral &c.—that occaſion of danger being removed, we doubted not but we might ſafely give him ſuch anſwer as we did, without further trouble to the country or delay to him—See more of this leaves after. p. 294

The ſow buſineſs not being yet digeſted in the country, many of the elders being yet unſatisfied, and the more by reaſon of a new caſe ſtated by ſome of the plaintiff's ſide and delivered to the elders, wherein they dealt very particularly, for they drew out all the evidence which made for the plaintiff, and thereupon framed their concluſion without mentioning any of the defendent's evidence.

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This being delivered to the elders, and by them imparted to ſome of the other ſide, an anſwer was preſently drawn which occaſioned the elders to take a view of all the evidence on both parties, and a meeting being procured both of magiſtrates and elders (near all in the juriſdiction) and ſome of the deputies, the elders there declared, that notwithſtanding their former opinions, yet upon examination of all the teſtimonies, they found much contrariety and croſſing of teſtimonies as they did not ſee any ground for the court to proceed to judment in the caſe, and therefore earneſtly deſired that the court might never be more troubled with it. To this all conſented except who ſtill maintained his former opinion, and would have the magiſtrates lay down their negative voice, and ſo the cauſe to be heard again. This ſtiffneſs of his, and ſingularity in opinion was very unpleaſing to all the company, but they went on notwithſtanding, and becauſe a principal end of the meeting was to reconcile differences and take away offences which were riſen between ſome of the magiſtrates by occaſion of this ſow buſineſs and the treatiſe of Mr. Saltonſtall againſt the council, ſo as Mr. Bellingham and he ſtood divided from the reſt, which occaſioned much oppoſition even in open court, and much partaking in the country, but by the wiſdom and faithfulneſs of the elders Mr. Saltonſtall was brought to ſee his failings in that treatiſe, which he did ingeniouſly acknowledge and bewail, and ſo he was reconciled with the reſt of the magiſtrates. They laboured alſo to make a perfect reconciliation between the Governor and Mr. Bellingham. The Governor offered himſelf ready to it, but the other was not forward, whereby it reſted in a manner as it was. Mr. Dudley alſo had let fall a ſpeech in the court to Mr. Rogers of Ipſwich, which was grievous to him and other of the elders. The thing was this. Mr. Rogers being earneſt in a cauſe between the town and Mr. Bradſtreet, which alſo concerned his own intereſt, Mr. Dudley uſed this ſpeech to him—"Do you think to come with your elderſhip here to carry matters" &c. Mr. Dudley was ſomewhat hard at firſt to be brought to ſee any evil in it, but at laſt he was convinced and did acknowledge it, and they were reconciled. 1643.

The deputies alſo who were preſent at this meeting and had voted for the plaintiff in the caſe of the ſow, ſeemed now to be ſatisfied, and the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their ſeveral towns, to the end that that cauſe might

1643. might never trouble the court more. But all this notwithſtanding, the plaintiff (or rather one G. Story his ſolicitor) being of an unſatisfied ſpirit, and animated, or at leaſt, too much countenanced by ſome of the court, preferred a petition at the court of elections, for a new hearing, and this being referred to the committee for petitions, it was returned that the greater part of them did conceive the cauſe ſhould be heard again, and ſome others in the court declared themſelves of the ſame judgment, which cauſed others to be much grieved to ſee ſuch a ſpirit in godly men, that neither the judgment of near all the magiſtrates, nor the concurrence of the elders and their mediation, nor the loſs of time and charge, nor the ſettling of peace in court and country could prevail with to let ſuch a cauſe fall (as in ordinary courſe of juſtice it ought) as nothing could be found in, by any one teſtimony, to be of criminal nature, nor could the matter of the ſuit, with all damages, have amounted to forty ſhillings: But two things appeared to carry men on in this courſe as it were in captivity. One was, the deputies ſtood only upon this—that their towns were not ſatisfied in the cauſe (which by the way ſhews plainly the democratical ſpirit which actuates our deputies &c.) The other was, the deſire of the name of victory; whereas on the other ſide the magiſtrates &c. were content for peace ſake, and upon the elders advice, to decline that advantage, and to let the cauſe fall for want of advice to ſway it either way. Now that which made the people ſo unſatisfied and unwilling the cauſe ſhould reſt as it ſtood, was the £20 which the defendent had recovered againſt the plaintiff in an action of ſlander; for ſaying he had ſtolen the ſow &c. and many of them could not diſtinguiſh this from the principal cauſe, as if ſhe had been adjudged to pay £20 for demanding her ſow, and yet the defendent never took of this more than £3 for his charges of witneſſes &c. and offered to remit the whole if ſhe would have acknowledged the wong ſhe had done him; but he being accounted a rich man, and ſhe a poor woman, this ſo wrought with the people, as being blinded with unreaſonable compaſſion, they could not ſee, or not allow juſtice her reaſonable courſe. This being found out by ſome of the court, a motion was made that ſome who had intereſt in the defendent would undertake to perſuade him to reſtore the plaintiff the £3 (or whatever it were) he took upon that judgdment, and likewiſe to refer

fer other matters to reference which were between the said Story and him. This the court were satisfied with, and proceeded no further. There was yet one offence which the elders desired might also be removed, and for that end some of them moved the Governor in it, and he easily consented to them so far as they had convinced him of his failing therein. The matter was this. The Governor had published a writing about the case of the sow as is here before declared, wherein some passages gave offence, which he being willing to remove, so soon as he came into the general court he spake as followeth, (his speech is set down verbatim to prevent misrepresentation, as if he had retracted what he had wrote in the point of the case) "I understand divers have taken offence at a writing I set forth about the sow business; I desire to remove it, and to begin my year in a reconciled estate with all. The writing is of two parts, the matter and the manner. In the former I had the concurrence of others of my brethren both magistrates and deputies; but for the other, viz. the manner, that was wholly mine own, so as whatsoever was blame worthy in it I must take it to myself. The matter is point of judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and again by such light as God hath afforded me from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly I can find no ground to retract any thing in that, therefore I desire I may enjoy my liberty herein, as every of yourselves do, and justly may. But for the manner, whatsoever I might alledge for my justification before men, I now pass it over—I now set myself before another judgment seat. I will first speak to the manner in general, and then to two particulars. For the general. Howsoever that which I wrote was upon great provocation by some of the adverse party, and upon invitation from others to vindicate ourselves from that aspersion which was cast upon us, yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to break out into any distemper. I confess I was too prodigal of my bretrhen's reputation, I might have obtained the cause I had in hand without casting such blemish upon others as I did. For the particulars. 1. For the conclusion, viz. now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case; whereby I might seem to conclude the other side to be void both of religion and reason. It is true a man may (as the case may be) appeal to the judgment of religion and reason, but as, I there carried it, I did arro-

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1643. gate too much to myſelf and aſcribe too little to others. The other particular was the profeſſion I made of maintaining what I wrote before all the world, which, tho' it may modeſtly be profeſſed (as the caſe may require) yet I confeſs it was now not ſo beſeeming me, but was indeed a fruit of the pride of mine own ſpirit. Theſe are all the Lord hath brought me to conſider of, wherein I acknowledge my failings, and humbly intreat you will pardon and paſs them by; if you pleaſe to accept my requeſt, your ſilence ſhall be a ſufficient teſtimony thereof unto me, and I hope I ſhall be more wiſe and watchful hereafter."

The ſow buſineſs had ſtarted another queſtion about the magiſtrates negative vote in the general court; the deputies generally were very earneſt to have it taken away; whereupon one of the magiſtrates wrote a ſmall treatiſe, wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the eſtabliſhing of it by order of the general court in 1634, ſhewing thereby how it was fundamental to our government, which if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He ſhewed alſo the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of it by many arguments from ſcripture, reaſon, and common practice &c. Yet this would not ſatisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away, and yet it was apparent (as ſome of the deputies themſelves confeſſed) the moſt did not underſtand it. An anſwer alſo was written (by one of the magiſtrates as was conceived) to the ſaid treatiſe, undertaking to avoid all the arguments both from the patent and from the order &c. This the deputies made great uſe of in this court, ſuppoſing they had now enough to carry the cauſe clearly with them, ſo as they preſſed earneſtly to have it preſently determined, but the magiſtrates told them the matter was of great concernment even to the very frame of our government; it had been eſtabliſhed upon ſerious conſultation and conſent of all the elders: it had been continued without any inconvenience or apparent miſchief theſe 14 years, therefore it would not be ſafe nor of good report to alter on ſuch a ſudden, and without the advice of the elders; offering withal, that if upon ſuch advice and conſideration it ſhould appear to be inconvenient, or not warranted by the patent and the ſaid order &c. they ſhould be ready to join with them in taking it away. Upon theſe propoſitions they were ſtilled, and ſo an order was drawn up to this effect—That it was deſired that every member of the court would take advice &c. and that it ſhould be no of-

fence for any, either publickly or privately to declare their opinion in the caſe ſo it were modeſtly &c. and that the elders ſhould be deſired to give their advice before the next meeting of this court. It was the magiſtrates only care to gain time, that ſo the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reaſon, and that the advice of the elders might be interpoſed; and that there might be liberty to reply to the anſwer, which was very long and tedious, which accordingly was done ſoon after the court, and publiſhed to good ſatisfaction. One of the elders alſo wrote a ſmall treatiſe, wherein ſcholaſtically and religiouſly he handled the queſtion, laying down the ſeveral forms of government both ſimple and mixt, and the true form of our government, and the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the neg. voice were taken away; and anſwered all objections, and ſo concluded for the continuance of it, ſo as the deputies and the people alſo, having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cauſe fall, and he who had written the anſwer to the firſt defence, appeared no further in it. 1643.

Our ſupplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had ſtore from Barbadoes, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowly, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns.

The Governor acquainted the court with a letter he received from Mr, Wheelwright to intreat the favor of the court that he might have leave to come into the Bay upon eſpecial occaſions, which was readily granted him for 14 days, whereupon he came and ſpake with divers of the elders, and gave them ſuch ſatisfaction as they intended to intercede with the court for the releaſe of his baniſhment. See more (3) 44.

Sacononoco and Punham two ſachems near Providence, having under them between 2 and 300 men, finding themſelves overborn by Miantonomoh the ſachem of Naraganſett, and Gorton and his company, who had ſo prevailed with Miant: as he forced one of them to join with him in ſetting his hand or mark to a writing whereby a part of his land was ſold to Gorton and his company, for which Miant. received a price, but the other would not receive that which was for his part, alledging that he did not intend to ſell his land, tho' thro' fear of

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1643. Miant-: he had put his mark to the writing. They came to our Governor, and by Benjamin Arnold their interpreter, did desire we would receive them under our government, and brought withal a small present of wampom, about ten fathom. The Governor gave them encouragement, but referred them to the court, and received their present, intending to return it them again if the court should not accord to them, but at the present he acquainted another of the magistrates with it, so it was agreed, and they wrote to Gorton and his company to let them know what the sachems had complained of, and how they had tender'd themselves to come under our jurisdiction, and therefore if they had any thing to alledge against it they should come or send to our next court. We sent also to Miant: to signify the same to him whereupon in the beginning of the court Miant: came to Boston, and being demanded in open court before divers of his own men and Cutshamakin and other indians, whether he had any intereſt in the said two sachems as his subjects, he could prove none. Cutshamakin also in his presence affirmed that he had no intereſt in them, but they were as free sachems as himself: only because he was a great sachem, they had sometime sent him presents, and aided him in his war against the Pequots: and Ben. Arnold affirmed partly upon his own knowledge, and partly upon the relation of divers indians of those parts, that the indians belonging to these sachems did usually pay their deer skins (which are a tribute belonging to the chief sachem) always to them, and never to Miantonomoh or any other sachem of Naraganset, which Miant: could not contradict, whereupon it was referred to the Governor and some other of the magistrates and deputies to send for the two sachems after the court, and to treat with them about their receiving in to us. But before this, Gorton and his company (12 in number) sent a writing to our court of four sheets of paper, full of reproaches against our magistrates, elders and churches, of familistical and absurd opinions, and therein they justified their purchase of the sachems land, and professed to maintain it to the death. They sent us word also after (as Ben. Arnold reported to us) that if we sent men against them they were ready to meet us, being assured of victory from God &c.—Whereupon the court sent two of the deputies to speak with them to see whether they would own that writing which was subscribed by them all. When they came,

came, they with much difficulty came to find out Gorton and two or three more of them, and upon conference they did own and juſtify the ſaid writing. They ſpake alſo with the two ſachems, as they had commiſſion, and giving them to underſtand upon what terms they muſt be received under us, they found them very pliable to all, and opening to them the ten commandments, they received this anſwer, which I have ſet down as the commiſſioners took it in writing from their mouths. 1643.

1. Ques. Whether they would worſhip the true God that made heaven and earth, and not blaſpheme him? Ans. We deſire to ſpeak reverently of engliſhman's God and not to ſpeak evil of him becauſe we ſee the engliſhman's God doth better for them than other Gods do for others.

2. That they ſhould not ſwear falſly. Ans. We never knew what ſwearing or an oath was.

3. Not to do any unneceſſary work on the Lord's day within the gates of towns. Ans. It is a ſmall thing for us to reſt on that day, for we have not much to do any day, and therefore we will forbear on that day.

4. To honor their parents and ſuperiors. Ans. It is our cuſtom ſo to do, for inferiors to be ſubject to ſuperiors, for if we complain to the Governor of the Maſſachuſetts that we have wrong, if they tell us we lie, we ſhall willingly bear it.

5. Not to kill any man but upon juſt cauſe and juſt authority. Ans. It is good, and we deſire ſo to do.

6. 7. Not to commit fornication, adultery, beſtiality &c. Ans. Though fornication and adultery be committed among us, yet we allow it not, but judge it evil, ſo the ſame we judge of ſtealing.

8. For lying, they ſay it is an evil, and ſhall not allow it.

9, Whether you will ſuffer your chidren to read God's word that they may have knowledge of the true God and to worſhip him in his own way? Ans. As opportunity ſerveth by the engliſh coming amongſt us we deſire to learn their manners.

After the court the Governor &c. ſent for them, and they came to Boſton at the day appointed, viz. the 22d of the 4th month, and a form of ſubmiſſion being drawn up, and they being by Ben. Arnold their neighbour and interpreter (who ſpake their language readily) made to underſtand every particular, in the preſence of divers of

1643. the elders and many others, they freely ſubſcribed the ſubmiſſion as it here followeth verbatim. Being told that we did not receive them in as confederats but as ſubjects, they anſwered, that they were ſo little in reſpect of us, as they could expect no other, ſo they dined in the ſame room with the Governor, but at a table by themſelves; and having much countenance ſhewed them by all preſent, and being told that they and their men ſhould be always welcome to the engliſh, provided they brought a note from Ben. Arnold, that we might know them from other indians, and having ſome ſmall things beſtowed upon them by the Governor, they departed joyful and well ſatisfied. We looked at it as a fruit of our prayers, and the firſt fruit of our hopes that the example would bring in others, and that the Lord was by this means making a way to bring them to civility, and ſo to converſion to the knowledge and embracing of the goſpel in his due time.

Soon after their departure we took order that Miantonomoh and the engliſh in thoſe parts ſhould have notice of their ſubmiſſion to us, that they might refrain from doing them injury.

Their ſubmiſſion was as followeth.

"This writing is to teſtify, That we Punham ſachem of Shawomock, and Sacononoco ſachem of Patuxet &c. have, and by theſe preſents do voluntarily and without any conſtraint or perſuaſion but of our own free motion, put ourſelves, our ſubjects, lands and eſtates under the government and juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts, to be governed and protected by them, according to their juſt laws and orders, ſo far as we ſhall be made capable of underſtanding them: and we do promiſe for ourſelves and our ſubjects, and all our poſterity to be true and faithful to the ſaid government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our beſt ability, and from time to time to give ſpeedy notice of any conſpiracy, attempt, or evil intention of any which we ſhall know or hear of, againſt the ſame: and we do promiſe to be willing, from time to time, to be inſtructed in the knowledge and worſhip of God. In witneſs whereof" &c.

The lady Moodye, a wiſe and anciently religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptiſm to infants was dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admoniſhed by the church of Salem (whereof ſhe was a member) but perſiſting ſtill, and to avoid further trou-

trouble &c. ſhe removed to the dutch againſt the advice of all her friends. Many others infected with anabapt: removed thither alſo. She was after excommunicated. 1643.

There aroſe a ſudden guſt at N.W. ſo violent for half an hour as it blew down multituds of trees. It lifted up their meetinghouſe at Newbury, the people being in it. It darkened the air with duſt, yet thro' God's great mercy it did no hurt, but only killed one indian with the fall of a tree. It was ſtraight between Linne and Hampton. (5) 5.

Here arrived one Mr. Carman maſter of the ſhip called of 180 tons. He went from New-Haven in 10ber laſt, laden with clapboards for the Canaries, being earneſtly commended to the Lords protection by the church there. At the Iſland of Palma he was ſet upon by a turkiſh pirate of 300 tons and 26 pieces of ordonance and 200 men: he fought with her three hours, having but 20 men and but 7 pieces of ordonance that he could uſe, and his muſkets were unſerviceable with ruſt. The turk lay croſs his hawſe, ſo as he was forced to ſhoot thro' his own hoodings and by theſe ſhot killed many turks; then the turk lay by his ſide and boarded him with near 100 men and cut all his rope &c. but his ſhot having killed the captain of the turkiſh ſhip and broken his tiller, the turk took in his own enſign and fell off from him, but in ſuch haſte as he left about 50 of his men aboard him, then the maſter and ſome of his men came up and fought with thoſe 50 hand to hand, and ſlew ſo many of them as the reſt leaped overboard. The maſter had many wounds on his head and body, and divers of his men were wounded, yet but one ſlain, ſo with much difficulty he got to the iſland (being in view thereof) where he was very courteouſly entertained and ſupplied with whatſoever he wanted. 2

Continuation about La Tour.

The Governor, with the advice of ſome of the magiſtrates and elders, wrote a letter to D'Aulnay taking occaſion in anſwer to his letter in 9ber laſt to this effect, viz. Whereas he found by the arreſt he ſent laſt autumn that La Tour was under diſpleaſure and cenſure in France, thereupon we intended to have no further to do with him than by way of commerce which is allowed, and if he had made prize of any of our veſſels in that way, as he threaten'd, we ſhould have righted ourſelves ſo well as we could without injury to himſelf or juſt offence to his maſter of France, whom we did honor as a great and

migh-

1643. mighty prince, and ſhould endeavour always to behave ourſelves towards his majeſty and all his ſubjects as became us &c. But La-Tour coming now to us, and acquainting us how it was with him &c. and here mentioned the vice admiral's commiſſion and the letters &c. tho' we thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in the wars of any of our neighbours, yet conſidering his urgent diſtreſs, we could not in chriſtianity or humanity deny him liberty to hire for his money any ſhips in our harbour, either ſuch as came to us out of England or others. And whereas ſome of our people were willing to go along with him (tho' without any commiſſion from us) we had charged them to labour by all means to bring matters to a reconciliation &c. and that they ſhould be aſſured that if they ſhould do or attempt any thing againſt the rules of juſtice and good neighbourhood, they muſt be accountable therefor unto us at their return.

Beſide the former arguments, there came ſince to Boſton one Mr. Hook a godly gentleman, and a deputy of the court for Saliſbury, who related of the good uſage and great courteſy which La-Tour had ſhewed to himſelf and other paſſengers who were landed at his fort about nine years ſince as they came from England, and how the ſhip leaving them there, and only a ſmall ſhallop to bring them to theſe parts, and a dangerous bay of 12 leagues to be paſſed over, he would not ſuffer them to depart before he had provided his own pinnace to tranſport them.

And whereas he was charged to have killed two engliſhmen at Machias not far from his fort, and to have taken away their goods to the value of £500. Mr. Vines of Saco who was part owner of the goods and principal trader and being preſent with La Tour, the Governor heard the cauſe between them which was thus.

Mr. Vines being in a pinnace trading in theſe parts, La Tour met him in another pinnace, and bought ſo many of his commodities as Mr. Vines received then of him 400 ſkins, and altho' ſome of Mr. Vines his company had abuſed La Tour, whereupon he had made them priſoners in his pinnace, yet at Mr. Vines' intreaty he diſcharged them with grave and good counſel, and acquainting Mr. Vines with his commiſſion to make prize of all ſuch as ſhould come to trade in thoſe parts, and thereupon deſired him peaceably to forbear &c. yet at his requeſt he gave him leave to trade the goods he had left, in his way

way home, ſo as he did not fortify or build in any place within his commiſſion, which he ſaid he could not anſwer it if he ſhould ſuffer it; whereupon they parted friendly. Mr. Vines landed his goods at Machias and there ſet up a ſmall wigwam, and left five men and two murderers to defend it, and a ſhallop, and ſo returned home. Two days after La Tour comes, and caſting anchor before the place, one of Mr. Vines men came aboard his pinnace, and while they were in parley, four of La Tour his men went on ſhore. One of the four which were in the houſe ſeeing them, gave fire to a murder, but it not taking fire he called to his fellow to give fire to the other murder, which he going to do, the four french retreated and one of their muſkets went off (La Tour ſayeth it was by accident, and that the ſhot went thro' one of his fellow's cloaths, but Mr. Vines could ſay nothing to that) it killed two of the men on ſhore, which Le Tour then profeſſed himſelf innocent of, and very ſorry for; and ſaid further, that the five men were at that time all drunk, and not unlikely having ſtore of wine and ſtrong water, for had they been ſober, they would not have given fire upon ſuch as they had converſed friendly with but two days before, without once bidding them ſtand, or aſking them wherefore they came. After this La Tour coming to the houſe, and finding ſome of his own goods (though of no great value) which had a little before been taken out of his fort at St. Joans by the ſcotch and ſome engliſh of Virginia (where they plundered all his goods to a great value and abuſed his men) he ſeized the three men and the goods and ſent them into France according to his commiſſion, where the men were diſcharged, but the goods adjudged lawful prize. Mr. Vines did not contradict any of this. but only that he did not build or fortify at Machias, but only ſet up a ſhelter for his men and goods. For the value of the goods Mr Vines ſhewed an invoice which came to 3 or £400 but La Tour ſaid he had another under the mens hands that were there, which came not to half ſo much. In courteſy he promiſed that he would refer the cauſe to judgment, and if it ſhould be found that he had done them wrong, he would make ſatisfaction. 1643.

In the evening La Tour took ſhip, the Governor and divers of the chief of the town accompanying him to his boat. There went with him four of our ſhips and a pinnace. He hired them for two months, the chiefeſt which (5) 14.

had

1643. had 16 pieces of ordonance at £200 the month; yet she was of but 100 tons, but very well manned and fitted for fight, and the rest proportionable. The owners took only his own security for their pay. He entertained also about 70 land soldiers volunteers at 40s. per month a man, but he paid them somewhat in hand.

Of the two friars which came in this ship, the one was a very learned acute man. Divers of our elders who had conference with him reported so of him. They came not into the towns, lest they should give offence, but once, being brought by some to see Mr. Cotton and confer with him, and when they came to depart, the chief came to take leave of the Governor and the two elders of Boston, and shewed himself very thankful for the courtesy they found among us.

In the afternoon they set sail from Long Island, the wind N. and by W. and went out at Broad Sound at half flood, where no ships of such burthen had gone out before, or not more than one.

Three errors the Governor &c. committed in managing this business. 1. In giving La Tour an answer so suddenly (the very next day after his arrival) 2. In not advising with any of the elders, as their manner was in matters of less consequence. 3. In not calling upon God as they were wont to do in all public affairs, before they fell to consultation &c.

The occasions of these errors were first—their earnest desire to dispatch him away, and conceiving at first they should have given him the same answer they gave his lieutenant the last year, for they had not then seen the Vice Admiral's commission. 2. Not then conceiving any need of counsel, the elders never came into the Governor's thoughts. 3. La Tour and many of the french coming into them at first meeting, and some taking occasion to fall in parley with them, there did not appear then a fit opportunity for so solemn an action as calling upon God, being in the midst of their business before they were aware of it. But this fault hath been many times found in the Governor to be oversudden in his resolutions, for altho' the course were both warrantable and safe yet it had beseemed men of wisdom and gravity to have proceeded with more deliberation and further advice.

Those about Ipswich &c. took great offence at these proceedings, so as three of the magistrates and the elders of Ipswich and Rowlye, with Mr. Nathaniel Ward, wrote

a letter to the Governor and assistants in the bay, and to the elders there, protesting against the proceedings, and that they would be innocent of all the evil which might ensue &c. with divers arguments against it, whereof some were weighty but not to the matter, for they supposed we had the country in a war, as if we had permitted our ships &c. to go fight with D'Aulnay, whereas we only permitted them to be hired by La Tour to conduct him home. The Governor made answer to this protestation, so did Mr. Dudley and the pastor of Boston. 6143.

Letters came to our Governor from Mr. Haynes Governor at Hartford, certifying of a war begun between Onkus sachem of Mohegen, and Sequasson sachem upon Connecticut—and that upon Onkus' complaint of the other's assaulting him &c. he sent for Sequasson and endeavoured to make them friends, but Sequasson chose rather to have war, so they were forced to leave them to themselves, promising to be aiding to neither &c. Soon after Onkus set upon Sequasson and killed seven or eight of his men, wounded 13, burnt his wigwam, and carried away the booty. Upon this Miantonomoh (being allied to Sequasson) sent to Mr. Haynes to complain of Onkus. He answered that the english had no hand in it, nor would encourage them &c. Miantonomoh gave notice hereof also to our Governor by two of our neighbour indians who had been with him, and was very desirous to know if we would not be offended if he made war upon Onkus. Our Governor answered, if Onkus had done him or his friends wrong and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his own course. (5)

A Dutch sloop arrived with letters in latin signed by the secretary there in the name and by the command of the Governor and senate, directed to the Governor and senate of R.P. of New-England, wherein 1st. he congratulates our late confederation, then he complains of unsufferable wrongs done to their people upon Connecticut, more of late than formerly, and of misinformation given by some of ours to the States embassador in London, and desires to know by a categorical answer, whether we will aid or desert them (meaning of Hartford) that so they may know their friends from their enemies &c. The Governor appointed a meeting of some of the next magistrates on the 2d day next, but the rain hindering some of them, it was put off to the 5th day. (5) 22.

Here arived a bark of the Earl of Warwick from Trinida-

1643. dado; ſhe came for people and proviſions, but our people being well informed of the ſtate of thoſe places were now become wiſer, and could ſtay here where they were in better condition than they could be in thoſe parts, ſo he altered his deſign and went towards Canada, and by the way guarded home a pinnace of La Tour's which came hither for proviſions.

The wife of one Hett, of whom mention was made before, being caſt out of the church of Boſton, the Lord was pleaſed ſo to honor his own ordinance, that whereas before no means could prevail with her either to reclaim her from her wicked and blaſphemous courſes and ſpeeches &c. or to bring her to frequent the means; within a few weeks after her caſting out, ſhe came to ſee her ſin and lay it to heart, and to frequent the means, and ſo was brought to ſuch manifeſtation of repentance and a ſound mind, as the church received her in again.

The day appointed for conſidering of the letter from the Dutch proved again ſo wet as but few met, and of thoſe ſome would have another day appointed, and all the magiſtrates to be called to it, but others thought it not fit both in regard the meſſenger haſted away, and alſo for that no direct anſwer could be returned without a general court. At length adviſing with ſome of the elders who were at hand, and ſome of the deputies, we returned anſwer to this effect (in the name of the Governor only) viz. After gratulation &c. of their friendly reſpect and our earneſt deſire of the continuance of that good correſpondency which hath been between themſelves and us ever ſince our arrival in theſe parts, That our chief council to whom their letters were directed, being far diſperſed &c. he was neceſſitated, with the advice of ſome other of the magiſtrates, to return this anſwer to them for the preſent, being rather a declaration of their own conceptions than the determination of our chiefeſt authority, from which they ſhould receive further anſwer in time convenient. We declared our grief for the difference between them and our brethren of Hartford, which we conceived might be compoſed by arbiters either in England or Holland, or here—that by our confederation we were bound to ſeek the good and ſafety of each other as our own, which we hoped would not hinder the continuance of that amity and correſpondency between themſelves and us: and that the ground of their difference being only for a ſmall parcel of land, was a mat-

matter of ſo little value in this vaſt continent, as was not worthy to cauſe a breach between two people ſo nearly related both in profeſſion of the ſame proteſtant religion and otherwiſe, therefore we would ſeriouſly requeſt them, as we would do alſo the others, that when the juſtice of the cauſe were decided by one of the ways before named, there might be abſtinence on both ſides, from injury and provocation, and if any ſhould happen on their part, that it might be duly examined, and we were aſſured (they being a people fearing God, they durſt not allow themſelves in any unrighteous courſe) they ſhould receive equal ſatisfaction. 1643. See more page .

We received news of a great defeat given the Naraganſetts by Onkus, and of 15 Dutch ſlain by the indians, and much beaver taken, and of Mr. Lamberton &c.

Onkus being provoked by Sequaſſon a ſachem of Connecticut who would not be perſuaded by the magiſtrates there to a reconciliation, made war upon him, and ſlew divers of his men and burnt his wigwams—whereupon Miantonomoh, being his kinſman, took offence againſt Onkus, and went with near 1,000 men and ſet upon Onkus before he could be provided for defence, for he had not then with him above 3 or 400 men: but it pleaſed God to give Onkus the victory after he had killed about 30 of the Naraganſetts, and wounded many more, and among theſe two of Canonicus' ſons and a brother of Miantonomoh, who fled, but having on a coat of mail, he was eaſily overtaken, which two of his captains perceiving, they laid hold on him and carried him to Onkus, hoping thereby to procure their own pardon, but ſo ſoon as they came to Onkus he ſlew them preſently, and Miantonomoh ſtanding mute, he demanded of him why he would not ſpeak. If you had taken me, ſayeth he, I would have beſought you for my life.—The news of Miantonomoh's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company who had bought of him the lands belonging to the ſachems who were come under our juriſdiction, wrote a letter to Onkus willing him to deliver their friend Miantonamoh, and threatened him with the power of the engliſh if he refuſed. Upon this Onkus carries Miantonamoh to Hartford to take advice of the magiſtrates there, and at Miantonamoh's earneſt intreaty he left him with them, yet as a priſoner. They kept him under guard, but uſed him very courteouſly, and ſo he continued 'till the commiſſioners of the United Colonies (6)

1643. met at Boſton, who taking into ſerious conſideration what was ſafeſt and beſt to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be ſafe to ſet him at liberty, neither had we ſufficient ground for us to put him to death. In this difficulty we called in five of the moſt judicious elders (it being in the time of the general aſſembly of the elders) and propounding the caſe to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death. Upon this concurrence we enjoined ſecrecy to ourſelves and them, leſt if it ſhould come the notice of the Naraganſetts, they might ſet upon the commiſſioners &c. in their return, to take ſome of them to redeem him (as Miantonamoh himſelf had told Mr. Haynes had been in conſultation amongſt them) and agreed that upon the return of the commiſſioners to Hartford they ſhould ſend for Onkus and tell him our determination that Miantonamoh ſhould be delivered to him again and he ſhould put him to death ſo ſoon as he came within his own juriſdiction, and that two engliſh ſhould go along with him to ſee the execution, and that if any indians ſhould invade him for it, we would ſend men to defend him: If Onkus ſhould refuſe to do it, then Miantonamoh ſhould be ſent in a pinnace to Boſton, there to be kept until further conſideration.

The reaſons of this proceeding with him were theſe. 1. It was now clearly diſcovered to us that there was a general conſpiracy among the indians to cut off all the engliſh, and that Miantonamoh was the head and contriver of it. 2. He was of a turbulent and proud ſpirit, and would never be at reſt. 3. Although he had promiſed us in the open court to ſend the Pequod to Onkus, who had ſhot him in the arm with intent to have killed him (which was by the procurement of Miantonamoh as it did probably appear) yet in his way homeward he killed him. 4. He beat one of Pumham's men and took away his wampom, and then bid him go and complain to the Maſſachuſetts.

According to this agreement the commiſſioners, at their return to Connecticut, ſent for Onkus, and acquainted him therewith, who readily undertook the execution, and taking Miantonamoh along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windſor (where Onkus had ſome men dwell) Onkus' brother, following after Miantonamoh, clave his head with an hatchet, ſome engliſh being preſent. And that the indians might know that the engliſh did approve of it, they ſent 12 or 14 muſketeers home with

with Onkus to abide a time with him for his defence, if need ſhould be. 6143.

About the 20th of this month the ſhips which went with La Tour came back ſafe, no: one perſon miſſing or ſick, but the report of their actions was offenſive and grievous to us; for when they drew near to La Tour's place, D'Aulnay having diſcovered them ſet ſail with his veſſels (being two ſhips and a pinnace) and ſtood right home to Port Royal. Ours purſued them, but could not fetch them up, but they ran their ſhips on ground in the harbour and began to fortify themſelves: whereupon ours ſent a boat to D'Aulnay with the Governor's letter and a letter from Capt. Hawkins, who by agreement among themſelves was commander in chief. The meſſenger who carried the letters being one who could ſpeak french well, was carried blindfold into the houſe and there kept ſix or ſeven hours, and all D'Aulnay's company plied for their fortifying with paliſadoes, and the friars as buſy as any, and encouraging the women who cried pitifully, telling them we were infidels and heretics. D'Aulnay would not open La Tour's letter becauſe he did not ſtile him Lieut. General &c. but he returned anſwer to the Governor and to Capt. Hawkins, and ſent him a copy of the arreſt againſt La Tour, and ſhewed the original to the meſſenger, but refuſed to come to any terms of peace. Upon this La Tour urged much to have our men to aſſault him, but they refuſed. Then he deſired that ſome of ours might be landed with his to do ſome miſchief to D'Aulnay. Capt. Hawkins would ſend none, but gave leave to any that would go; whereupon ſome 30 of ours went with La Tour's men, and were encountered by D'Aulnay's men who had fortified themſelves by his mill, but were beaten out with loſs of three of their men, and none ſlain on our ſide nor wounded, only three of La Tour's men were wounded. They ſet the mill on fire and burnt ſome ſtanding corn and retired to their ſhips with one priſoner whom they took in the mill. D'Aulnay ſhot with his ordonance at their boats as they went aboard, but miſſed them, nor did our ſhips make one ſhot at him again, but ſet ſail and went to La Tour's fort. While they lay there D'Aulnay's pinnace came, ſuppoſing he and his ſhips had been ſtill there, and brought in her 400 mooſe ſkins and 400 beaver ſkins; theſe they took without any reſiſtance and divided them; one third La Tour had and the pinnace—

Mo. 6.

one

1643. one third to the ſhips and the other to the men; ſo they continued there 'till their time was near expired and were paid their hire and returned. One ſhip coming a good time before the other and the pinnace went up I. River ſome 20 leagues and laded with coal. They brought a piece of white marble whereof there is great ſtore near his fort, which makes very good lime.

Mo. 7. The indians near the dutch having killed 15 men as is before related, proceeded on and began to ſet upon the engliſh who dwelt under the Dutch. They came to Mrs. Hutchinſon's in way of friendly neighbourhood as they had been accuſtomed, and taking their opportunity, killed her and Mr. Collins her ſon in law (who had been kept priſoner in Boſton as is before related) and all her family, and ſuch of Mr. Throckmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families as were at home; in all ſixteen, and put their cattle into their houſes and there burnt them. By a good providence of God there was a boat came in there at the ſame inſtant, to which ſome women and children fled, and ſo were ſaved, but two of the boatmen going up to the houſes were ſhot and killed.

Theſe people had caſt off ordinances and churches, and now at laſt their own people, and for large accommodation had ſubjected themſelves to the Dutch and dwelt ſcatteringly near a mile aſunder: and ſome that eſcaped who had removed only for want (as they ſaid) of hay for their cattle which increaſed much, now coming back again to Aquiday, they wanted cattle for their graſs. Theſe indians having killed and driven away all the engliſh upon the main as far as Stamford (for ſo far the Dutch had gained poſſeſſion by the engliſh) they paſſed on to Long Iſland and there aſſaulted the lady Moodye in her houſe divers times, for there were 40 men gathered thither to defend it.

Theſe indians at the ſame time ſet upon the dutch with an implacable fury, and killed all they could come by, and burnt their houſes and killed their cattle without any reſiſtance, ſo as the Governor and ſuch as eſcaped betook themſelves to their fort at Monhaton, and there lived and eat up their cattle.

(4) There was an aſſembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about 50 in all) ſuch of the ruling elders as would were preſent alſo, but none elſe. They ſet in the college and had their diet there after the manner of ſcholars commons, but ſomewhat better, yet ſo ordered

as

as it came not to above ſix pence the meal for a perſon. 1643.
Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were choſen moderators. The principal occaſion was becauſe ſome of the elders went about to ſet up ſome things undoing to the preſbytery, as of Newbury &c. The aſſembly concluded againſt ſome parts of the preſbyterial way, and the Newbury miniſters took time to conſider the arguments &c.

Upon the complaint of the engliſh of Patuxet near (7)
Providence, who had ſubmitted to our juriſdiction and the two indian ſachems there of the continual injuries offered them by Gorton and his company, the general court ſent for them, by letter only, not in way of command, to come anſwer the complaints, and ſent them letters of ſafe conduct, but they anſwered our meſſengers diſdainfully, refuſed to come, but ſent two letters full of blaſphemy againſt the churches and magiſtracy, and other provoking terms, ſlighting all we could do againſt them; ſo that having ſent three times and receiving no other anſwer, we took teſtimonies againſt them both of engliſh and indians, and determined to proceed with them by force: and becauſe they had told our meſſengers the laſt time, that if we had any thing to ſay to them, if we would come to them they would do us juſtice therein, therefore we wrote to them to this effect, viz. To the end that our juſtice and moderation might appear to all men, we would condeſcend ſo far to them as to ſend commiſſioners to hear their anſwers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould be juſt, we would leave them in peace, if otherwiſe, we would proceed by force of arms; and ſignified withal that we would ſend a ſufficient guard with our commiſſioners, for ſeeing they would not truſt themſelves with us upon our ſafe conduct, we had no reaſon to truſt ourſelves with them upon their bare courteſy. And accordingly we ſent the next week Capt. George Cook, Lieut. Atherton, and Edward Johnſon with commiſſion and inſtructions (the inſtructions would here be inſerted at large) and with them 40 ſoldiers. They came to Providence, and by the way received another letter from Gorton of the like contents with the former and told them plainly they were prepared for them &c. Being come near, they found they had put themſelves all into one houſe, which they had made muſket proof with two flankers. But by the mediation of others of providence they came to parley, and then offered to refer their cauſe to arbitrators (al-

ledg-

1643. ledging that we were parties and ſo not equal judges) ſo as ſome of them might be of Providence or of Aquiday, and offer'd their cattle for ſecurity to abide the order &c. Our commiſſioners, thro' importunity of themſelves and others of Providence, were content to ſend to us to know our minds about it. Their letter came to us, when a committee appointed by the general court, were met about the tidings of Miantonamoh's death; ſo calling into us five or ſix of the elders who were near at hand, we conſidered of the motion, and agreed that it was neither ſeaſonable nor reaſonable, neither ſafe nor honorable for us to accept of ſuch a propoſition. 1. Becauſe they would never offer us any terms of peace before we had ſent our ſoldiers. 2. Becauſe the ground of it was falſe, for we were not parties in the caſe between the indians and them, but the proper judges, they being all within our juriſdiction by the indians and engliſh their own grant. 3. They were no ſtate, but a few fugitives living without law or government, and ſo not honorable for us to join with them in ſuch a courſe. 4. The parties whom they would refer it unto were ſuch as were rejected by us, and all the governments in the country, and beſides, not men likely to be equal to us, or able to judge of the cauſe. 5. Their blaſphemous and reviling writings &c. were not matters fit to be compounded by arbitrament, but to be purged away only by repentance and public ſatisfaction, or elſe by public puniſhment.

And laſtly the commiſſion and inſtructions being given them by the general court, it was not in our power to alter them; ſo accordingly we wrote to our commiſſioners to proceed, which accordingly they did, and approached the houſe, where they had fortified themſelves, with trenches ſo near as they might fire the houſe, which they attempted two or three times, but they within quenched it. At laſt three of them eſcaped out and ran away, and the reſt yielded and were brought to Boſton and were committed to the priſon. It was a ſpecial providence of God that neither any of them nor of ours were ſlain or hurt, tho' many ſhot paſſed between them, but every man returned ſafe and hale. See more page .

Here wants the beginning which may be ſupplied out of the Records. 64.

Other affairs were tranſacted by the commiſſioners of the United Colonies, as writing letters to the Swediſh Gov-

Governor in Delaware river, concerning the foul injuries offered by him to Mr. Lamberton and thoſe people whom New-Haven had planted there, and alſo to the dutch Governor about the injuries his agent there had alſo offered and done to them, as burning down their trading houſe, joining with the Swedes againſt them &c. but this was inſerted in the letter which the general court ſent to him in further anſwer of that which he ſent to them, as is expreſſed herebefore; in which letter we declared the complaints which had been made by our confederates both of Hartford and New-Haven, of their injurious dealings, as well at Hartford and New-Haven as at Delaware: alſo our opinion of the juſtice of the cauſe of Hartford in reſpect of title of the land in queſtion between them, which we could not change, except we might ſee more light than had yet appeared to us by the title the dutch inſiſted upon, nor might we deſert either of our confederates in a righteous cauſe. And we gave alſo commiſſion to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swediſh Governor about ſatisfaction for thoſe injuries and damages, and to agree with him about ſettling their trade and plantation. This Swediſh Governor demeaned himſelf as if he had neither chriſtian nor moral conſcience, getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and falſe pretences, and keeping him priſoner and ſome of his men, labouring by promiſes and threats to draw them to accuſe him to have conſpired with the indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, and not prevailing theſe ways, then by attempting to make them drunk, that ſo he might draw ſomething from them: and in the end (though he could gain no teſtimony) yet he forced him to pay weight of beaver before he would ſet him at liberty. He is alſo a man very furious and paſſionate, curſing and ſwearing, and alſo reviling the engliſh of N. Haven as runagates &c. and himſelf with his own hands put irons upon one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went alſo to the houſes of thoſe few families planted there, and forced ſome of them to ſwear allegiance to the crown of Sweden, tho' he had no colour of title to that place, and ſuch as would not he drave away &c. All theſe things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation, and by other teſtimony upon oath, but this was ſent before with commiſſion. 1643.

About this time our Governor received letters from Philip Bell, Eſq. Governor of Barbadoes, complaining of the

1643. the diſtracted condition of that iſland in regard of divers ſorts of familiſts ſprung up there, and their turbulent practices, which had forced him to proceed againſt ſome of them by baniſhment, and others of mean quality by whipping; and earneſtly deſiring us to ſend them ſome godly miniſters and other good people. The Governor imparted the letter to the court and elders. but none of our miniſters would go thither, and the Governor returned anſwer accordingly.

(8) 12. The New ſachem of Naraganſett, Miantonamoh's brother called Peſecus. a young man about 20, ſent a preſent to our Governor, viz. an otter coat and girdle of wampom, and ſome other wampom. in all worth about £15 and deſired peace and friendſhip with us, and withal that we would not aid Onkus againſt him, whom he intended to make war upon in revenge of his brother's death. Our Governor anſwered the meſſengers that we were willing to have peace and friendſhip with him, and to that end had ſent meſſengers to Canonicus (whom it ſeemed they met with by the way) but we deſired withal that there might be peace with all indians, alſo both Onkus and others, and that we had alſo ſent to Ouſamekin to that end; therefore except their ſachem would agree to it, we could not receive his preſent. They replied that they had no inſtructions about that matter, but would return back and acquaint their ſachem with it, and return to us again, and deſired to leave their preſent with our Governor in the mean time, which he agreed unto.

13 Capt. Cook and his company which were ſent out againſt Gorton returned to Boſton, and the captives, being nine, were brought to the Governor his houſe in a military order, viz. the ſoldiers being in two files, and after every five or ſix ſoldiers a priſoner: ſo being before his door, the commiſſioners came in, after the Governor had ſaluted them he went forth with them, and paſſing thro' the files, welcomed them home, bleſſing God for preſerving and proſpering them, and gave them all thanks for their pains and good carriage, and deſired of the captain a liſt of their names, that the court &c. might know them if hereafter there ſhould be occaſion to make uſe of ſuch men. This good acceptance and commendation of their ſervice gave many of them more content than their wages (which yet was very liberal per week and they to victual themſelves, and it is needful in all ſuch commonwealths where the ſtate deſires to be ſerved by volunteers)

Then

Then having conferred privately with the commiſſioners, he cauſed the priſoners to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great aſſembly, and there laid before them their contemptuous carriage towards us, and their obſtinacy againſt all the fair means and moderation we had uſed to reform them and bring them to do right to thoſe of ours whom they had wronged, and how the Lord had now juſtly delivered them into our hands. They pleaded in their excuſe that they were not of our juriſdiction, and that though they had now yielded themſelves to come and anſwer before us, yet they yielded not as priſoners. The Governor replied, they were brought to him as taken in war, and ſo our commiſſioners had informed, but if they could plead any other quarter or agreement our commiſſioners had made with them, we muſt and would perform it; to which they made no anſwer—So the Governor committed them to the marſhall to convey to the common priſon, and gave order they ſhould be well provided for both for lodging and diet. Then he went forth again with the captain, and the ſoldiers gave him three vollies of ſhot and ſo departed to the inn, where the Governor had appointed ſome refreſhing to be provided for them above their wages. 1643.

The next Lord's day in the forenoon the priſoners would not come to the meeting, ſo as the magiſtrate determined they ſhould be compelled. They agreed to come, ſo as they they might have liberty after ſermon to ſpeak if they had occaſion. The magiſtrates anſwer was, that they did leave the ordering of things in the church to the elders, but there was no doubt but they might have leave to ſpeak ſo as they ſpake the words of truth and ſobriety. So in the afternoon they came and were placed in the fourth ſeat right before the elders. Mr. Cotton (in his ordinary text) taught them out of Acts 19. of Demetrius pleading for Diana's ſilver ſhrines or temples &c. After ſermon Gordon deſired leave to ſpeak, which being granted, he repeated the points of Mr. Cotton's ſermon, and coming to that of the ſilver ſhrines, he ſaid that in the church there was nothing now but Chriſt, ſo that all our ordinances, miniſters, ſacraments &c. were but men's inventions for ſhew and pomp and no other than thoſe ſilver ſhrines of Diana. He ſaid alſo that if Chriſt lived eternally, then he died eternally; and it appeared both by his letters and examinations that he held that Chriſt was incarnate in Adam, and that he was that im-

1643. age of God wherein Adam was created, and that the chief work and merit was in that his incarnation in that he became ſuch a thing, ſo mean &c. and that his being born after of the Virgin Mary and ſuffering &c. was but a manifeſtation of his ſufferings &c. in Adam. Likewiſe in his letters he condemned and reviled magiſtracy calling it an idol, alledging that a man might as well be a ſlave to his belly as to his own ſpecies: yet being examined he would acknowledge magiſtracy to be an ordinance of God in the world as marriage was, viz. no other magiſtracy but what was natural, as the father over his wife and chidren, and an hereditary prince over his ſubjects.

When the general court was aſſembled, Gorton and his company were brought forth upon the lecture day at Boſton, and there before a great aſſembly, the Governor declared the cauſe and manner of our proceeding againſt them, and their letters were openly read, and all objections anſwered. As 1. That they were not within our juriſdiction. To this was anſwered. 1. That they were either within Plimouth or Mr. Fenwick, and they had yielded their power to us in this cauſe. 2. If they were under no juriſdiction then had we none to complain unto for redreſs of our injuries, and then we muſt either right ourſelves and our ſubjects by force of arms, or elſe we muſt ſet ſtill under all their reproaches and injuries, among which they had this inſolent paſſage.—"We do more "diſdain that you ſhould ſend for us to come to you, "than you could do if we ſhould ſend for the chiefeſt a-"mong you to come up to us and be employed according "to our pleaſure in ſuch works as we ſhould appoint "you."

As for their opinions we did not meddle with them for thoſe, otherwiſe than they had given us occaſion by their letters to us, and by their free and open publiſhing them amongſt us, for we wrote to them only about civil controverſies between them and our people, and gave them no occaſion to vent their blaſphemings and revilings &c. And for their title to the indians land, we had divers times deſired them to make it appear, but they always refuſed, even to our commiſſioners whom we ſent laſt to them, and ſince they were in priſon we offered to ſend for any witneſſes they would deſire, but ſtill they refuſed, ſo that our title appearing good, and we having now regained our poſſeſſion, we need not queſtion them any more about that. Their letters being read, they were demanded ſev-

erally if they would maintain thoſe things which were contained therein. They anſwered they would in that ſenſe wherein they wrote them. 1643.

After this they were brought before the court ſeverally to be examined (divers of the elders being deſired to be preſent) and becauſe they had ſaid they could give a good interpretation of all they had written, they were examined upon the particular paſſages, but the interpretation they gave being contradictory to their expreſſions, they were demanded then if they would retract thoſe expreſſions, but that they refuſed, and ſaid ſtill that they ſhould then deny the truth. For inſtance in one or two; their letters were directed one to their neighbours of the Maſſachuſetts, and the other of them to the great honored idol gentleman of the Maſſachuſetts, and by a meſſenger of their own delivered to our Governor, and many paſſages in both letters particularly applied to our courts, our magiſtrates, our elders &c. yet in their examinations about their reproachful paſſages, they anſwered, that they meant them of the corrupt eſtate of mankind in general and not of us &c. So whereas in their letters they impute it to us as an error, that we teach that Chriſt died actually only when he ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, and before only in types: upon their examination they ſay that their meaning was, that his death was actual to the faith of the fathers under the law, which is in effect no other than we hold, yet they account it an error in us, and would not retract that charge. One of the elders had been in the priſon with them, and had conferred with them about their opinions, and they expreſſed their agreement with him in every point, ſo as he intended to move for favor for them, but when he heard their anſwer upon their examination, he found how he had been deluded by them, for they excel the jeſuits in the act of equivocation, and regard not how falſe they ſpeak to all other men's apprehenſions, ſo they keep to the rules of their own meaning. Gorton maintained that the image of God wherein Adam was created was Chriſt, and ſo the loſs of that image was the death of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of it in generation was Chriſt's reſurrection, and ſo the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifeſtation of the former. In their letters &c. they condemned all ordinances in the church, calling baptiſm an abomination, and the Lord's ſupper the juice of a poor ſilly grape turned into the blood of Chriſt

by

1643. by the ſkill of our magicians &c. yet upon examination they would ſay they did allow them to be the ordinances of Chriſt; but their meaning was that they were to continue no longer than the infancy of the church laſted (and but to novices then) for after the revelation was written they were to ceaſe, for there is no mention of them, ſay they, in that book.

They were all illiterate men, the ableſt of them could not write true engliſh, no not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the moſt difficult places of ſcripture, and wreſt them any way to ſerve their own turns: as to give one inſtance for many. Mr. Cotton preſſing them with that in Acts 10. "Who can forbid water why theſe ſhould not be baptized—ſo he commanded them to be baptized" they interpret thus. Who can deny but theſe have been baptized, ſeeing they have received the Holy Ghoſt &c. ſo he allowed them to have been baptized. This ſhift they were put to that they might maintain their former opinion, That ſuch as have been baptized with the Holy Ghoſt need not the outward baptiſm.

The court and the elders ſpent near a whole day in diſcovery of Gorton's deep myſteries which he had boaſted of in his letters, and to bring him to conviction, but all was in vain. Much pains was alſo taken with the reſt, but to as little effect. They would accknowledge no error or fault in their writings, and yet would ſeem ſometimes to conſent with us in the truth.

After all theſe examinations the court began to conſult about their ſentence. The judgment of the elders alſo had been demanded about their blaſpemous ſpeeches and opinions, what puniſhment was due by the word of God. Their anſwer was firſt in writing, that if they ſhould maintain them as expreſſed in their writings, their offence deſerved death by the law of God. The ſame ſome of them declared after in open court. But before the court would proceed to determine of their ſentence, they agreed firſt upon their charge, and then calling them all publickly they declared to them what they had to charge them with out of their letter and ſpeeches. Their charge was this, viz. They were charged to be blaſphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of all his holy ordinances, and likewiſe of all civil government among his people, and particularly within this juriſdiction. Then they were demanded whether they did ac-

acknowledge this charge to be juſt, and did ſubmit to it, or what exceptions they had againſt it. They anſwered they did not acknowledge it to be juſt, but they took no particular exceptions to it, but fell into ſome cavilling ſpeeches, ſo they were returned to priſon again. Being in priſon they behaved inſolently towards their keeper, and ſpake evil of the magiſtrates—Whereupon ſome of the magiſtrates were very earneſt to have irons preſently put upon them. Others thought it better to forbear all ſuch ſeverity 'till their ſentence were paſſed. This latter opinion prevailed. After divers means had been uſed both in public and private to reclaim them, and all proving fruitleſs, the court proceeded to conſider of their ſentence: in which the court was much divided. All the magiſtrates, ſave three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die, but the greateſt number of the deputies diſſenting, that vote did not paſs. In the end all agreed upon this ſentence—for ſeven of them, viz. that they ſhould be diſperſed into ſeven ſeveral towns, and there kept to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the town, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blaſphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death, only the exception for ſpeech with any of the elders, or any other licenſed by any magiſtrate to confer with them; this cenſure to continue during the pleaſure of the court. There were three more taken in the houſe with them, but becauſe they had not their hands to the letters they were diſmiſſed, two of them upon a ſmall ranſom, as captives taken in war, and the third freely, for that he was but in his maſter's houſe &c. A fourth being found to be an ignorant young man was only enjoined to abide in Watertown upon pain of the court's diſpleaſure only. 1643.

About a week after we ſent men to fetch ſo many of their cattle as might defray our charges, both of the ſoldiers and of the court, which ſpent many days about them, and for their expences in priſon. It came to in all about £160. There were three who eſcaped out of the houſe; theſe being ſent for to come in, two of them did ſo, and one of them, becauſe his hand was not to the letters, was freely diſcharged, the other was ſent home upon his own bond to appear at the next court (only ſome of his cattle were taken towards the charges) There was a fourth who had his hand to the firſt letter, but he died before our ſoldiers went, and we left his whole eſtate to his

1643. his wife and children. Their arms were all taken from them, and of their guns, the court gave one fowling piece to Pumham and another to Saconoco, and liberty granted them to have powder as being now within our juriſdiction.

The Lord Bartemore being owner of much land near Virginia, being himſelf a papiſt, and his brother Mr. Calcourt the governor there a papiſt alſo, but the colony conſiſted both of proteſtants and papiſts: he wrote a letter to Capt. Gibbons of Boſton, and ſent him a commiſſion, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would tranſport themſelves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place afforded, paying ſuch annual rent as ſhould be agreed upon; but our Captain had no mind to further his deſire herein, nor had any of our people temptation that way.

(5) 13. One Capt. Jo. Chaddock ſon of him that was Governor of Bermuda, a godly gentleman, but late removing from them with his family and about 100 more to Trinidado where himſelf and wife and moſt of his company died; arrived here in a man of war of about 100 tons, ſet forth by the Earl of Warwick. He came hither for planters for Trinidado (Mr. Humphry having told the Earl that he might be ſupplied from hence) but here was not any that would enter upon that voyage &c. So La Tour having a pinnace here at the ſame time, they hired Capt. Chaddock for two months at £200 the month, partly to convey the pinnace home from the danger of D'Aulnay his veſſels, and partly for other ſervice againſt D'Aulnay there, but when they came they found D'Aulnay gone into France and a new fort raiſed at Port Royal, and a pinnace ready to go forth to trade, ſo they kept her in ſo long 'till the ſeaſon was over and his two months out, and then he returned to Boſton. When he was come in near the town his men going up upon the main yard to hand in the ſail, the main tie brake, and the yard falling down ſhook off five men into the ſea, and tho' it were calm and ſmooth water, yet not having their boat out three of them were drowned. One of theſe had taken ſome things out of the deſerted caſtle as they went out. Notwithſtanding this ſad accident, yet ſo ſoon as they came on ſhore they fell to drinking &c. and that evening the captain and his maſter being at ſupper, and having drank too much, the captain began to ſpeak evil of the coun-

country, ſwearing fearfully, that we were a baſe heathen people. His maſter anſwered that he had no reaſon to ſay ſo, for it was the beſt place that ever he came in. Upon theſe and other ſpeeches the Capt. aroſe and drew his ſword, and the maſter drew forth his piſtol, but the company ſtaying them from doing any miſchief, the Captain ſware blood and wounds he would kill him. For this they were brought before the court, and the Captain fined £20 and committed to the marſhall 'till he gave ſecurity for it. The maſter for that he was in drink, as he ingeniouſly acknowledged &c. was fined only 10ſ. but was ſet at liberty from the captain, who had formerly miſuſed other of his men, and was a very proud and intemperate man. But becauſe the ſhip was the Earl of Warwick's who had always been forward to do good to our colony, we wrote to him that the fine ſhould be reſerved to be at his lordſhip's diſpoſing when he ſhould pleaſe to command or call for it. See the next page. 1648.

By order of the general court all the magiſtrates and the teaching elders of the ſix neareſt churches were appointed to be forever governors of the college, and this day they met at Cambridge and conſidered of the officers of the college, and choſe a treaſurer, H. Pelham Eſq. being the firſt in that office. (10) 27.

This day five ſhips ſet ſail from Boſton; three of them were built here, two of 300 tons and the other of 160. One of them was bound for London with many paſſengers, men of chief rank in the country, and great ſtore of beaver. Their adventure was very great, conſidering the doubtful eſtate of the affairs of England, but many prayers of the churches went with them and followed after them.

Capt. Chaddock having brought from the French a pinnace of about 30 tons (which La Tour ſold him for and was the ſame which was taken before from D'Aulnay) he had manned and fitted her to go in her to Trinidado, and riding before Boſton ready to depart, and eight men aboard her, one ſtriking fire with a piſtol, two barrels of powder took fire and blew her up; five of the men being in the cabbin were deſtroyed, and the other three being in the other part were much ſcorched and hurt, but got into their boat and were ſaved. The captain himſelf was then on ſhore at Boſton. It is obſervable that theſe men making no uſe of the ſudden loſs of three (11) 2.

6143. three of their company, but falling to drinking &c. that very evening this judgment came thus upon them. It is alſo to be obſerved that two veſſels have thus been blown up in our harbour, and both belonging to ſuch as deſpiſed us and the ordinance of God amongſt us. See more page .

About this time Capt. Daniel Patrick was killed at Stamford by a dutchman who ſhot him dead with a piſtol. This captain was entertained by us out of Holland (where he was a common ſoldier of the Prince's guard) to exerciſe our men. We made him a captain, and maintained him. After, he was admitted a member of the church of Watertown and a freeman; but he grew very proud and vicious, for though he had a wife of his own a good dutchwoman and comely, yet he deſpiſed her and followed after other women, and perceiving that he was diſcovered, and that ſuch evil courſes would not be endured here, and being withal of a vain and unſettled diſpoſition, he went from us, and ſat within twenty miles of the dutch, and put himſelf under their protection, and joined to their church, without being diſmiſſed from Watertown: but when the indians aroſe in thoſe parts he fled to Stamford and there was ſlain. The dutchman who killed him was apprehended but made an eſcape; and this was the firſt of his wicked courſe and breach of covenant with his wife, with the church, and with that ſtate who had called him and maintained him, and he found his death from that hand where he ſought protection. It is obſervable that he was killed upon the Lord's day in the time of afternoon exercise (for he ſeldom went to the public aſſemblies) It was in Capt. Underhill's houſe the dutchman had charged him with treachery for cauſing 120 men to come to him upon his promiſe to direct them to the indians &c. but deluded them. Whereupon the captain gave him ill language and ſpit in his face, and turning to go out, the dutchman ſhot him behind in the head, ſo he fell down dead and never ſpake. The murderer eſcaped out of cuſtody.

(10) 3. The Hopewell a ſhip of Boſton about 60 tons arrived; the freight was wines, pitch, ſugar, ginger &c. She had her lading at Palma an iſland near Teneriffe. The Spaniards uſed our people courteouſly, but put them to give ſecurity to ſome engliſh merchants reſiding there to diſcharge their cargoes at Boſton, for they would not have the Portugals of the to have any goods from them.

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She performed her voyage in four months. She went a second voyage thither ſoon after, but was never heard of, her lading was corn in bulk. 1643.

At this time came over Thomas Morton our profeſſed old adverſary, who had ſet forth a book againſt us, and written reproachful and menacing letters to ſome of us.

Some of Watertown began a plantation at Martin's vineyard beyond Cape Cod, and divers families going thither, they procured a young man one Mr. Green a ſcholar to be their miniſter, in hopes ſoon to gather a church there. He went not.

Others of the ſame town began alſo a plantation at Naſhaway ſome 15 miles N.W. from Sudbury.

About midnight three men coming in a boat to Boſton ſaw two lights ariſe out of the water near the north point of the town cove, in form like a man, and went at a ſmall diſtance to the town, and ſo to the ſouth point, and there vaniſhed away. They ſaw them about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour, being between the town and the Governor's garden. The like was ſeen by many, a week after, ariſing about Caſtle Iſland and in 1-5 of an hour came to Jo. Gallop's point. (11) 18.

The country being weary of the charge of maintaining Caſtle Iſland, the laſt general court made an order to have it deſerted and the ordonance fetched away; but Boſton and other towns in the bay finding that thereupon the maſters of ſome ſhips which came from England took occaſion to ſlight us and to offer injury to our people, having liberty to ride and go out under no command, and conſidering alſo how eaſily any of our towns in the bay might be ſurprized, we having no ſtrength without to ſtop them or to give notice of an enemy; they choſe certain men out of the ſeveral towns who met at Boſton to conſider of ſome courſe of repairing and maintaining it at their proper charge: but the difficulty was, how to do it without offence to the general court who had ordered the deſerting of it &c.

The 18th of this month two lights were ſeen near Boſton (as is before mentioned) and a week after the like was ſeen again. A light like the moon aroſe about the N.E. point in Boſton and met the former at Nottles Iſland, and there they cloſed in one and then parted, and cloſed and parted divers times, and ſo went over the hill in the iſland and vaniſhed. Sometimes they ſhot out flames and ſometimes ſparkles. This was about 8 of the clock in the evening, and was ſeen by many. About the

1643. ſame time a voice was heard upon the water between Boſton and Dorcheſter, calling out in a moſt dreadful manner, *boy, boy, come away, come away* : and it ſuddenly ſhifted from one place to another a great diſtance about twenty times. It was heard by divers godly perſons. About 14 days after, the ſame voice in the ſame dreadful manner was heard by others on the other ſide of the town toward Nottles Iſland.

Theſe proceedings having ſome reference to the place where Capt. Chaddock's pinnace was blown up a little before gave occaſion of ſpeech of that man who was the cauſe of it, who profeſſed himſelf to have ſkill in necromancy, and to have done ſome ſtrange things in his way from Virginia hither, and was ſuſpected to have murdered his maſter there, but the magiſtrates here had no notice of him 'till after he was blown up. This is to be obſerved that his fellows were all found, and others who were blown up in the former ſhip were alſo found, and others alſo who have miſcarried by drowning &c. have uſually been found, but this man was never found.

(12) 5. Cutſhamekin and Agawam, and Joſias, Chickatabot his heir came to the Governor, and in their own name and the names of all the ſachems of Watchamſett, and all the indians from Merrimack to Tecticutt tender'd themſelves to our government, and gave the Governor a preſent of 30 fathom of wampom, and offered to come to the next court to make their acknowledgment &c. The Governor received their preſent to keep it 'till the court &c. and if the court and they did agree, then to accept it. We now began to conceive hope that the Lord's time was at hand for opening a door of light and grace to thoſe indians, and ſome fruit appeared of our kind dealing with Pumham and Sacoconoco, protecting them againſt the Naraganſett, and righting them againſt Gorton &c. who had taken away their land : for this example gave encouragement to all theſe indians to come in and ſubmit to our government, in expectation of the like protection and benefit.

16 Peſacus the Naraganſett ſachem ſent again a meſſage to the Governor with another preſent by Waſhoſe a ſachem who came before, and his errand was, that ſeeing they, at our requeſt, had ſitten ſtill this year, that now this next year we would grant their requeſt, and ſuffer them to fight with Onkus, with many arguments. The Governor refuſed his preſent, and told him that if they ſent us 1000 fath-

fathom of wampom and 1000 ſkins, yet we would not do that which we judged to be unjuſt, viz. to deſert Onkus, but our reſolution was, and that they muſt reſt upon, that if they made war upon Onkus, the engliſh would all fall upon them. 1643.

The Trial (the firſt ſhip built in Boſton) being about 160 tons, Mr. Thomas Graves an able and a godly man maſter of her, was ſent to Bilboa in the 4th month laſt, with fiſh, which ſhe ſold there at a good rate, and from thence ſhe freighted to Malaga, and arrived here this day laden with wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool, which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade. So ſoon as ſhe was fitted ſhe was ſet forth again to trade with La Tour, and ſo along the eaſtern coaſt towards Canada. (1) 23. (3)

One Mr. Rigby a lawyer and a parliament man, wealthy and religious, had purchaſed the Plough Patent lying at Sagadahock, and had given commiſſion to one Mr. Cleaves as his deputy, to govern the people there &c. He landing at Boſton and knowing how diſtaſteful this would be to the Governor of Sir Ferdinand Gorges' province of New Somerſetſhire, who challenged juriſdiction in a great part of Ligonia or the plough patent, petitioned the general court to write to them on his behalf, but the court thought not fit ſo to do, but rather that the Governor ſhould write in his own name only, which he did accordingly. But when Mr. Cleaves came to ſet his commiſſion on foot, and called a court at Caſco, Mr. Richard Vines and other of Sir Ferdinand Gorges' commiſſioners oppoſed, & called another court at Saco the ſame time: whereupon the inhabitants were divided; thoſe of Caſco &c. wrote to Mr. Vines that they would ſtand to the judgment of the magiſtrates of the Bay 'till it were decided in England, to which government they ſhould belong, and ſent this letter by one Tunker. Mr. Vines impriſoned him, and the next day took his bond for his appearance at Saco and his good behaviour. Upon this Mr. Cleaves and the reſt, about thirty perſons, wrote to our Governor for aſſiſtance againſt Mr. Vines, and tendered themſelves to the conſociation of the United Colonies; and beſide, they had an order not to receive any but ſuch as were in a church way &c.

Not long after, viz. (2) 24. Mr. Vines came to Boſton with a letter from himſelf and the other of Sir F. Gorges' com-

1643. commiſſioners and other inhabitants of the province, between 20 and 30.

Three fiſhermen of a boat belonging to Iſle of Shoals, were very profane men, and ſcorners of religion, and were drinking all the Lord's day, and the next week their boat was caſt upon the rocks at the Iſle of Shoals, and they drowned.

There was little rain this winter, and no ſnow 'till the 3d of the 1ſt month, the wind continuing W. and N.W. near ſix weeks, which was an occaſion that very many houſes were burned down, and many cattle (in ſome of them) to a greater value than in 14 years before.

(1) 7. Boſton, Charleſtown, Roxbury, Dorcheſter, Cambridge and Watertown conceiving that the want of fortification at Caſtle Iſland would leave them open to an enemy, appointed a committee to conſider how it might be fortified, and coming to ſome concluſion about it, they adviſed with the Governor and ſome other of the magiſtrates who encouraged them in it, as the elders alſo did in their ſermons, but becauſe the general court had given order for fetching off the ordonance &c. it was thought fit not to attempt any thing without the advice of the ſame. It fell out alſo that five of the neighbouring indian ſachems came at the ſame time to the Governor with a preſent of wampom about 30 fathom, worth ſome £8 and deſired to come under our government as Pumham and Saconoconoco had done. For theſe two occaſions the Governor ſummoned a general court to be held at Boſton this day (the court of aſſiſtants being to begin the 5th day before) where the committees of the ſaid ſix towns exhibited a petition for fortifying of the ſaid iſland, craving help alſo from the country, tho' they had agreed to do it at their own charge rather than fail. The court refuſing to undertake it, they gave in certain propoſitions whereby they craved ſome aid, at leaſt, for maintaining of the garriſon, and ſome privileges and immunities. Theſe coming to be debated in the court, ſome oppoſition there was, which had almoſt diſcouraged the committee. The arguments brought againſt it were chiefly theſe. 1. The great charge. 2. The little help it could afford againſt a ſtrong enemy. 3. The opportunity left of another paſſage by Bird Iſland. But theſe objections were ſo far removed, as after much debate, the court voted for the forfortification, and granted £100 pay for the maintenance of it, when it ſhould be in defence and a garriſon of 20 men

men residing there; and £50 towards the securing the other passage. And a committee was appointed to draw up a commission for him who should have command in chief &c. But this allowance was yielded rather out of a willingness to gratify these six towns (being near one half of the commonwealth for number of people and substance) and to keep living correspondency among all the towns, rather than out of any confidence of safety by it. Many also of good judgment did conceive that the fortifications would not be accomplished according to the dimensions propounded, nor so great a garrison maintained, for the people were known generally to be more willing and forward in such public engagements, than able, upon trial, to perform them: for in such cases, the major part, which carries the vote, is of such as can afford least help to the work. 1643.

The court finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them 14 days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the court being already passed &c.

At this court Cutshamekin and Squasussen, Masconomoco, Nashacowam and Wassamagoin, two sachems near the great hill to the west called Warohassett, came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government upon the same terms that Pumham and Saconomoco were; so we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented the court with 26 fathom more of wampom, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took leave and went away very joyful.

At this court came letters from Newhaven, and withal an answer from the Swedes and Dutch to the letters of the commissioners of the union, sent in the 7th month last. The dutch still maintained their right to the land at Hartford, and their complaint of injuries. The Swedes denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of

1643. of divers examinations upon oath taken in the cauſe, with a copy of all the proceeding between them and our friends of Newhaven from the firſt, and in their letters uſed large expreſſions of their reſpect to the Engliſh, and particularly to our colony; and Mr. Eaton deſired a copy of our patent to ſhew the Swediſh Governor (at his requeſt) and a new commiſſion from the commiſſioners of the union, allowing them to go on with their plantation and trade in Delaware river and bay (for the Governor had told their agent that upon ſuch a commiſſion they ſhould have liberty &c.) This coming at the ſetting of the general court, the commiſſioners adviſed with the court about it, who granted both, but the commiſſion with a *ſalvo jure*: we were then informed alſo of a dutch ſhip lately arrived at Hudſon's river ſent to the free boors at fort Orange, which brought them 4,000 weight of powder, and 700 pieces to trade with the natives, which the dutch Governor having notice of, did ſeize and confiſcate to the uſe of the company.

We had the news alſo that the dutch had entertained Capt. Underhill, who with 120 men, dutch and engliſh, had killed 120 indians upon Long Iſland, and 300 more upon the main, which was found to be a plot of the dutch Governor to engage the engliſh in that quarrel with the indians, which we had wholly declined, as doubting of the juſtice of the cauſe.

At this court of aſſiſtants one James Britton a man ill affected both to our church diſcipline and civil government, and one Mary Latham a promp young woman about 18 years of age, whoſe father was a godly man and had brought her up well, were condemned to die for adultery, upon a law formerly made and publiſhed in print. It was thus occaſioned and diſcovered. This woman being rejected by a young man whom ſhe had an affection unto, vowed ſhe would marry the next that came to her, and accordingly, againſt her friends minds, ſhe matched with an ancient man who had neither honeſty nor ability, and one whom ſhe had no affection unto: whereupon ſoon after ſhe was married, divers young men ſolicited her chaſtity, and drawing her into bad company, and giving her wine and other gifts, eaſily prevailed with her, and among others this Britton, but God ſmiting him with a dead palſey and fearful horror of conſcience withal, he could not keep ſecret, but diſcovered this, and other the like with other women, and was forced to acknowledge

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the juſtice of God in that having often called others fools &c. for confeſſing againſt themſelves, he was now forced to do the like. The woman dwelt now in Plimouth patent, and one of the magiſtrates there hearing ſhe was detected &c. ſent her to us. Upon her examination ſhe confeſſed he did attempt the fact, but did not commit it, and witneſs was produced that teſtified (which they both confeſſed) that in the evening of a day of humiliation thro' the country for England &c. a company met at Brittons' and there continued drinking ſack &c. 'till late in the night, and then Britton and the woman were ſeen upon the ground together, a little from the houſe. It was reported alſo that ſhe did frequently abuſe her huſband, ſetting a knife to his breaſt and threatening to kill him, calling him old rogue and cuckold, and ſaid ſhe would make him wear horns as big as a bull; and yet ſome of the magiſtrases thought the evidence not ſufficient againſt her, becauſe there were not two direct witneſſes, but the jury caſt her, and then ſhe confeſſed the fact, and accuſed 12 others, whereof two were married men. Five of theſe were apprehended and comitted (the reſt were gone) but denying it, and there being no other witneſs againſt them than the teſtimony of a condemned perſon, there could be no proceeding againſt them. The woman proved very penitent, and had deep apprehenſion of the foulneſs of her ſin, and at length attained to hope of pardon by the blood of Chriſt, and was willing to die in ſatisfaction to juſtice. The man alſo was very much caſt down for his ſins but was loth to die, and petitioned the general court for his life, but they would not grant it, tho' ſome of the magiſtrates ſpake much for it, and queſtioned the letter, whether adultery was death by God's law now. This Britton had been a profeſſor in England, but coming hither he oppoſed our church government &c. and grew diſſolute, loſing both power and profeſſion of godlineſs. 1648.

They were both executed, they both died very penitently eſpecially the woman who had ſome comfortable hope of pardon of her ſin, and gave good exhortation to all young maids to be obedient to their parents and to take heed of evil company &c. (1) 21.

The Earl of Warwick and other Lords &c. being appointed by the parliament, commiſſioners for regulating the Weſt-Indies and all other engliſh plantations in America, ſent commiſſion to Virginia to free them from all form-

1644. former taxations and all other charges but ſuch as ſhould be needful for their own occaſions, and gave them liberty to chooſe their own Governor; and ſent command to all engliſh ſhips there (which were then to the number of 16, moſt of them great ſhips) to aſſiſt them if need were. But the King ſending a countermand to G. R. Berkley the Governor, he withſtood the parliament's commiſſioners and drew moſt of the other magiſtrates to take oath upon the ſacrament, to maintain the King's authority &c. ſo that the whole country was like to riſe in parties, ſome for the King, and others for the parliament.

A propoſition was made this court for all the engliſh within the united colonies to enter into a civil government for the maintenance of religion and our civil liberties, and for yielding ſome more of the freeman's privileges to ſuch as were no church members that ſhould join in this government, but nothing was concluded, but referred to next court, and in the mean time that letters ſhould be written to the other colonies to adviſe with them about it: nothing was effected for want of opportunity of meeting &c.

At the ſame court in the 1ſt month, upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered that the court ſhould be divided in their conſultations, the magiſtrates by themſelves, and the deputies by themſelves, what the one agreed upon they ſhould ſend to the other, and if both agreed, then to paſs &c. This order determined the great contention about the negative voice.

Divers of the merchants of Boſton being deſirous to diſcover the great lake, ſuppoſing it to lie in the N.W. part of our patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver which came to all the eaſtern and ſouthern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that deſign, and to have the trade which they ſhould diſcover, to themſelves for 21 years. The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their deſire: whereupon, having alſo commiſſion granted them under (3) the public ſeal, and letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swediſh Governors, they ſent out a pinnace well manned and furniſhed with proviſions and trading ſtuff, which was to ſail up Delaware river ſo high as they could go, and then ſome of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aſpenwall, a good artiſt, and one who had been in thoſe parts, to paſs by ſmall ſkiffs or canoes up the river ſo far as they could.

Many of Watertown and other towns joined in the plantation at Naſhaway, and having called a young man, an univerſal ſcholar, one Mr. Nocroſſ, to be their miniſter, ſeven of them who were no members of any churches, were deſirous to gather into a church eſtate; but the magiſtrates and elders adviſed them firſt to go and build them habitations &c. (for there was yet no houſe there) and then to take ſome that were members of other churches, with the conſent of ſuch churches, as formerly had been done, and ſo proceed orderly. But the perſons intereſted in this plantation, being moſt of them poor men, and ſome of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very ſlowly, ſo as that in two years they had not three houſes built there, and he whom they had called to be their miniſter left them for their delays. 1644.

One Dalkin and his wife dwelling near Meadford coming from Cambridge, where they had ſpent their ſabbath, and being to paſs over the river at a ford, the tide not being fallen enough, the huſband adventured over, and finding it too deep, perſuaded his wife to ſtay a while, but it raining very ſore, ſhe would needs adventure over, and was carried away with the ſtream paſt her depth, her huſband not daring to go help her, cried out, and thereupon his dog, being at his houſe near by, came forth, and ſeeing ſomething in the water, ſwam to her and ſhe caught hold on the dog's tail ſo he drew her to the ſhore and ſaved her life.

At the general court (8) 4. there came a letter to the Governor from Mr. Wheelwright (who was now carried from Exeter to Wells near Cape Porpoiſe where he was paſtor of a church) the contents whereof were as followeth.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.

Upon the long and mature conſideration of things I perceive that the main difference between yourſelves and ſome of the Rev. Elders and me in point of juriſdiction and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature and conſequence as was then preſented to me in the falſe glaſs of ſatan's temptations and mine own diſtempered paſſions, which makes me unfeignedly ſorry that I had ſuch an hand in thoſe ſharp and vehement contentions raiſed thereabouts to the great diſturbance of the churches of Chriſt. It is the gift of my ſoul that I uſed ſuch vehement cenſorious ſpeeches in the application of my ſermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any

1644. diſhonor upon your worſhips, the rev'd elders, or any of contrary judgment to myſelf. It repents me that I did ſo much adhere to perſons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices, tho' I intended no ſuch thing; and that in the ſynod I uſed ſuch unſafe and obſcure expreſſions falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffettings of Satan, and that I did appeal from miſapprehenſion of things. I confeſs that herein I have done very ſinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honored ſtate. If it ſhall appear to me, by ſcripture light, that in any carriage, word, writing or action, I have walked contrary to rule, I ſhall be ready, by the grace of God, to give ſatisfaction: thus hoping that you will pardon my boldneſs, I humbly take leave of your worſhip, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty; and ever remain, your worſhip's in all ſervice to be commanded in the Lord.

F. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, (7) 10—43.

Upon this letter the court was very well inclined to releaſe his baniſhment; and thereupon ordered that he might have a ſafe conduct to come to the court &c. hereof the Governor certified him by letter, and received this anſwer from him.

R. W.

I have received the letter wherein you ſignify to me that you have imparted my letter to the honorable court, and that it finds good applauſe, for which I rejoice with much thankfulneſs. I am very thankful to your worſhip for the letter of ſafe conduct which I formerly received, as likewiſe for the late act of court, granting me the ſame liberty in caſe I deſire letters to that end. I ſhould very willingly, upon letters received, expreſs by word of mouth openly in court, that which I did by writing, might I, without offence, explain my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect: that notwithſtanding my failings, for which I humbly crave pardon, yet I cannot with a good conſcience condemn myſelf for ſuch capital crimes, dangerous revelations and groſs errors, as have been charged upon me, the concurrence of which (as I take it) make up the very ſubſtance of the cauſe of all my ſufferings. I do not ſee, but in ſo mixt a cauſe, I am bound to uſe, may it be permitted, my juſt defence ſo far as I apprehend myſelf to be innocent, as to make my confeſſion where I am convinced of any delinquency; other-

otherwiſe I ſhall ſeemingly and in appearance, fall under guilt of many heinous offences for which my conſcience doth acquit me. If I ſeem to make ſuit to the honorable court for relaxation to be granted, by an act of mercy, upon my ſole confeſſion, I muſt offend my conſcience, if by an act of juſtice upon mine apology and lawful defence, I fear leſt I ſhall offend your worſhips. I leave all things to your wiſe and godly conſideration, hoping that you will pardon my ſimplicity and plainneſs which I am forced unto by the power of an over-ruling conſcience. I reſt your worſhip's in the Lord. 1644.

F. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, (1) 1—43.

To this the Governor replied to this effect, viz. that tho' his liberty might be obtained without his perſonal appearance, yet that was doubtful, nor did he conceive that a wiſe and modeſt apology would prejudice the acceptance of his free and ingenuous confeſſion, ſeeing the latter would juſtify the ſentence of the court, which looked only at his action, and yet by the former, he might maintain the liberty of his conſcience in clearing his intention from theſe ill deſerving crimes which the court apprehended by his action; and withal, (becauſe there might want opportunity of conveyance before the court) he ſent him incloſed a ſafe conduct &c. The next court releaſed his baniſhment without his appearance.

A ſhip coming from Virginia certified us of a great maſſacre lately committed by the natives upon the engliſh there to the number of 300 at leaſt, and that an indian whom they had ſince taken confeſſed that they did it becauſe they ſaw the engliſh took up all their lands from them, and would drive them out of the country, and they took this ſeaſon for that they underſtood that they were at war in England, and began to go to war among themſelves, for they had ſeen a fight in the river between a London ſhip which was for the parliament, and a Briſtol ſhip which was for the king. He confeſſed further that all the indians within 600 miles were confederate together to root all ſtrangers out of the country. (3) 20.

It was very obſervable that this maſſacre came upon them ſoon after they had driven out the godly miniſters we had ſent to them, and had made an order that all ſuch as would not conform to the diſcipline of the church of England ſhould depart the country by a certain day, which the maſſacre now prevented: and the Governor

(one

1644. (one Sir Robert Berkley a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of our churches here) and council had appointed a faſt to be kept thro' the country upon good Friday (as they call it) for the good ſucceſs of the King &c. and the day before, this maſſacre began in the outparts of the contry round about, and continued two days, for they killed all, by ſudden ſurpriſal, living amongſt them, and as familiar in their houſes as thoſe of the family. This maſſacre was accompanied with a great mortality. Upon theſe troubles divers godly diſpoſed perſons came from thence to New-England, and many of the reſt were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that this evil was ſent upon them from God for their reviling the goſpel and thoſe faithful miniſters he had ſent among them.

A letter came to the Governor under the marks of Peſecus and Canonicus the ſachem of Naraganſett, but written by Gorton's company, to this effect, That they were purpoſed to make war upon Onkus in revenge of the death of Miantonamoh and others of their people whom he had ſlain, and that they marvelled why we ſhould be againſt it—that they had put themſelves under the government and protection of the King of England, and ſo were now become our fellow ſubjects, and therefore if any difference ſhould fall between us and them, it ought to be referred to him; profeſſing withal their willingneſs to continue all friendly correſpondency with us.

The general court being aſſembled, when Mr. Endicott was choſen Governor and Mr. Winthrop Deputy Governor, they took this letter into conſideration together with another from Gorton's company to the ſame effect, and ſent two meſſengers to the Naraganſetts with inſtructions to this purpoſe, viz. to know whether they did own that letter &c. and by whoſe advice they had done as they wrote, and why they would countenance and take council from ſuch evil men and ſuch as we had baniſhed from us, and to perſuade them to ſit ſtill, and to have more regard to us than ſuch as Gorton &c. When our meſſengers came to them, Canonicus would not admit them into his wigwam for two hours, but ſuffered them to ſtay in the rain. When he did admit them, he lay along upon his couch, and would not ſpeak to them more than a few froward ſpeeches, but referred them to Peſacus, who coming after ſome four hours, carried them into an ordinary wigwam, and there

had

had conference with them moſt part of the night. Their answers were witty and full to the queſtions; and their concluſion was, that they would preſently go to war upon Onkus, but not in ſuch manner as Miantonamoh had done, by a great army, but by ſending out parties of 20 or more or leſs, to catch his men, and keep them from getting their living &c. 1644.

At this court Paſſaconaway the Merrimack ſachem came in and ſubmitted to our government, as Pumhaam &c. had done before.

Two of our miniſters ſons being ſtudents in the college robbed two dwelling houſes in the night, of ſome £15— being found out they were ordered by the Governors of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the preſident himſelf; yet they were about 20 years of age—and after they were brought into the court and ordered to two fold ſatisfaction, or to ſerve ſo long for it. We had yet no particular puniſhment for burglary. (4) 5.

At this court there aroſe ſome troubles by this occaſion. Thoſe at Eſſex had procured at the court before, that the deputies of the ſeveral ſhires ſhould meet before this court to prepare buſineſs &c. which accordingly they did, and propounded divers things which they agitated and concluded among themſelves without communicating them to the other ſhires, who conceived they had been only ſuch things as had concerned the commonwealth, but when they came now to be put to this court, it appeared that their chief intent was to advantage their own ſhire. As 1. by drawing the government thither. 2. By drawing the courts thither. 3. By drawing a good part of the country ſtock thither. 4. By procuring 4 of thoſe parts to be joined in commiſſion with the magiſtrates—and for this end they had made ſo ſtrong a party among the deputies of the ſmaller towns (being moſt of them mean men, and ſuch as had ſmall underſtanding in affairs of ſtate) as they eaſily carried all theſe among the deputies, but when the two bills came to the magiſtrates they diſcerning the plot, and finding them hurtful to the commonwealth, refuſed to paſs them, and a committee of both being appointed to conſider the reaſons of both ſides, thoſe of the magiſtrates prevailed.

But the great difference was about a commiſſion which the deputies ſent up, whereby power was given to ſeven of the magiſtrates and three of the deputies and Mr. Ward (ſome time paſtor of Ipſwich, and ſtill a preacher)

to

1644. to order all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court, which the magiſtrates returned with this anſwer—That they conceived ſuch commiſſion did tend to the overthrow of the foundation of our government, and of the freemens liberty, and therefore deſired the deputies to conſider of a way how this danger might be avoided and the liberty of the freemen preſerved inviolable, otherwiſe they could not comfortably proceed in other affairs. Upon this return all the deputies came to confer with the magiſtrates. The exceptions the magiſtrates took were theſe. 1. That this court ſhould treat general affairs which the freemen had reſerved to the court of elections. 2. That they ſhould put out four of the magiſtrates from that power and truſt which the freemen had committed to them. 3. At the commiſſion itſelf, ſeeing they ought not to accept that power by commiſſion which did belong to them by the patent and by their election. They had little to anſwer to this, yet they alledged a precedent or two where this court had ordered ſome of the magiſtrates and ſome others to be a council of war, and that we had varied from our patent in ſome other things, and therefore were not bound to it in this. But they chiefly ſtood upon this, that the Governor and aſſiſtants had no power out of court but what was given them by the general court. To this the magiſtrates replied. 1. That ſuch examples as were againſt rules or common right were errors and no precedents. 2. That council was for our particular caſe only and not of general extent. 3. In thoſe things wherein we had varied from our patent we did not touch the foundation of our government. To the laſt it was ſaid, that the Governor and aſſiſtants had power of government before we had any written laws or had kept any courts; and to make a man a governor over a people, gives him, by neceſſary conſequence, power to govern that people, otherwiſe there were no power in any commonwealth to order, diſpoſe or puniſh in any caſe which might fall out, that there were no poſitive law declared in. It was conſented to that this court had authority to order and direct the power of theſe magiſtrates for time, place, perſons &c. for the common good, but not wholly to deprive them of it, their office continuing: ſo as theſe being choſen by the people by virtue of the patent, to govern the people, a chief part whereof conſiſts in counſel, they are the ſtanding council of the commonwealth, and therefore

fore in the vacancy of this court, may act in all the affairs thereof without any commiſſion. Upon this they withdrew, and after a few hours came again, and then they tender'd a commiſſion for war only, and more of the magiſtrates to be left out, but the magiſtrates refuſed to accept of any commiſſion, but they would conſent the ſame ſhould paſs by order ſo as the true power of the magiſtrates might be declared in it: or to a commiſſion of aſſociation, to add three or four others to the magiſtrates in that council: or to continue the court a week longer and ſend for the elders to take their advice in it; but none of theſe would be accepted. But they then moved that we would conſent that nothing might be done 'till the court met again (which was before agreed to be adjourned to the 28th of (8). To this was anſwered, that if occaſion required, they muſt act according to the power and truſt committed to them; to which their ſpeaker replied —*You will not be obeyed.* 1644.

Two days after the court was broken up, Pumham ſent two men to Boſton to tell us that the Naraganſetts had taken and killed ſix of Onkus' men and 5 women, and had ſent him two hands and a foot to engage him in the war, but he refuſed to receive them and ſent to us for counſel &c. This occaſioned ſuch of the magiſtrates and deputies as were at hand (adviſing alſo with ſome of the near elders) to meet to conſult about calling the court, and agreed, both in regard of this news from the indians, and eſpecially for ſpeedy reconciling the magiſtrates and deputies, to write to the Governor that the court might be called the 28th following, which the Governor aſſented unto. (4) 23.

The court being aſſembled, they took order for 10 men to be ſent to Pumham according to his deſire, to help him make a fort of palliſadoes &c. but the men being volunteers, aſked 10/ per week for each man, and ſuch ſpoil as they ſhould get if they were put to fight, and arms fixed and powder and ſhot. Whereupon the court fearing it would be an ill precedent, ſtaid and ſent word to Pumham that the men were ready, but he muſt pay them &c.

The commiſſion alſo for the ſerjeant major general was agreed and ſealed, and in it he was referred to receive his inſtructions &c. from the council of the commonwealth, but who were this council was not agreed. Whereupon the magiſtrates all ſave two ſigned a declaration in maintenance of their authority, and to clear the aſperſions caſt upon

1644. upon them, as if they intended to bring in an arbitrary govetnment &c. This they ſent firſt to the deputies with intimation that they intended to publiſh it, whereupon the deputies ſent to deſire that it might not be publiſhed, and deſired a committee might meet to ſtate the difference between us, which was done, and the difference was brought under this queſtion—where the magiſtrates are by patent and election of the people the ſtanding council of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court, and have power accordingly to act in all caſes ſubject to government according to the ſaid patent and the laws of this juriſdiction; and when any neceſſary occaſions call for action from authority, in caſes where there is no particular expreſs law provided, there to be guided by the word of God 'till the general court give particular rules in ſuch caſes? This difference being thus ſtated, they drew up this following order and ſent it to us, viz.

Whereas there is a difference between the Governor, Aſſiſtants and Deputies in this court, concerning the power of the magiſtrates in the vacancy of the general court—We therefore *(ſalvo jure)* for the peace and ſafety of this colony, do conſent that the Governor and aſſiſtants ſhall take order for the welfare of this commonwealth in all ſudden caſes that may happen within our juriſdiction until the next ſeſſion of this court, when we deſire this queſtion may be determined.

This we accepted (with the ſalvo jure) but we had refuſed to accept of another they ſent us before in theſe words—We do authoriſe thoſe three which are of the ſtanding council to proceed &c.

Upon this agreement the magiſtrates conſented that the declaration ſhould remain with the ſecretary and not be publiſhed without the conſent of the major part of the magiſtrates, which we intended not to do except we were neceſſitated thereto by the deputies miſreport of our proceedings. And indeed ſome of the magiſtrates did decline the publiſhing thereof upon this apprehenſion, that it would cauſe a public breach throughout this country: and if it ſhould come to that the people would fall into factions, and the nonmembers would certainly take part with the magiſtrates (we ſhould not be able to avoid it) and this would make us and our cauſe, though never ſo juſt, obnoxious to the common ſort of freemen, the iſſue whereof muſt needs have been very doubtful.

Mr.

Mr. George Phillips was buried, he was the firſt paſtor of the church of Watertown, a godly man, ſpecially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others. 1644. (5) 2.

Another great error the deputies committed, which alſo aroſe out of the ſame falſe bottom, viz. the chooſing one of the younger magiſtrates (though a very able man) Mr. Bradſtreet, and one of the deputies Mr. Hathorne (the principal man in all theſe agitations) a young man alſo, to be commiſſioners for the united cononies; both eaſtern men, quite out of the way of opportunity of correſpondency with the other confederates; whereas all the reſt had choſen either their Governers or other chief magiſtrates; and ourſelves had formerly choſen the Governor and Mr. Dudley. Thus uſual it is for one error in ſtate to beget others.

This alſo was a failing in them, that when the Governor of Plimouth (our brethren and confederates) wrote earneſtly to us, in their great want of powder, to ſupply them out of our ſtore, and the magiſtrates had granted them two barrels, the deputies ſtopped it, and would not conſent they might have liberty to buy for their money.

Thoſe alſo of Aquiday Iſland, being in great fear of the Indians, wrote to us for ſome powder and other ammunition, but the court was then adjourned; and becauſe the deputies had denied our confederates, the magiſtrates thought not fit to ſupply them: but certainly it was an error (in the ſtate policy at leaſt) not to ſupport them, for tho' they were deſperately erroneous and in ſuch diſtraction among themſelves as portended their ruin, yet if the Indians ſhould prevail againſt them, it would be a great advantage to the indians, and danger to the whole country by the arms &c. that would there be had, and by the loſs of ſo many perſons and ſo much cattle and other ſubſtance belonging to above 120 families. Or if they ſhould be forced to ſeek protection from the Dutch, who would be ready to accept them, it would be a great inconvenience to all the engliſh to have ſo conſiderable a place in the power of ſtrangers ſo potent as they are.

Another error alſo was this, that when by the articles of confederation we were bound, if any of our confederates upon any preſſing occaſion ſhould ſend to us for aid, we ſhould forthwith ſend them ſuch a number of men as is agreed upon in the articles—yet the deputies woul

1644. not conſent that upon any ſuch occaſion the magiſtrates ſhould raiſe any man without calling a general court, which would put the country to great charge, and might occaſion the loſs of the opportunity, and when they ſhould be aſſembled there would be no uſe of council, the thing being already determined by the articles of confederation.

(5) 15. Upon the earneſt importunity of Pumham who feared the Naraganſetts becauſe of their threatnings, that it might really appear that we did own them and would protect them, we ſent 10 men and an officer a diſcreet man, to command them, and gave them commiſſion to ſtay there one, two, or three days, as &c. with charge not to enter into the limits of the Naraganſett, nor to provoke them &c. and if they were forced to defend themſelves, yet they ſhould not purſue the enemy if he retired &c.

Two new ſhips, one of 250—built at Cambridge, the other of 200, built at Boſton, ſet ſail towards the Canaries laden with pipe ſtaves, fiſh &c.

The court braking up in haſte (it being on the evening of the faſt appointed) gave order to the magiſtrates in the bay to return anſwer to the Dutch Governor's letter of (12) 11. which accordingly was done, to this effect, viz. Gratulation of his reſpect and correſpondency with us—manifeſtation of our good will to him, and deſire of continuance of all friendly intercourſe &c.—acknowledging that he had largely and prudently diſcourſed of the matters in difference: but we are alſo to attend the allegations on the other parties. But ſeeing proofs were not yet had on either ſide, he could expect no further anſwer than before: but if he would pleaſe to ſend commiſſioners to Hartford to treat with the commiſſioners for the colonies, it would be very acceptable, and a hopeful means to prepare for a good iſſue.

Anabaptiſtry encreaſed and ſpread in the country, which occaſioned the magiſtrates, at the laſt court, to draw an order for baniſhing ſuch as continued obſtinate after due conviction. This was ſent to the elders who approved of it with ſome mitigations, and being voted and ſent to the deputies, it was after publiſhed.

A poor man of Hingham, one Painter, who lived at New-Haven and at Rowly and Charleſtown, and been ſcandalous and burdenſome by his idle and troubleſome behaviour to them all, was now on the ſudden turned anabaptiſt, and having a child born, he would not ſuffer his

his wife to bring it to the ordinance of baptiſm, for ſhe was a member of the church, though himſelf were not: being preſented for this and enjoined to ſuffer the child to be baptized, he ſtill refuſing, and diſturbing the church, he was again brought to the court not only for his former contempt, but alſo for ſaying that our baptiſm was antichriſtian; and in the open court he affirmed the ſame— whereupon after much patience and clear conviction of his error &c. becauſe he was very poor, ſo as no other but corporal puniſhment could be faſtened upon him, he was ordered to be whipped, not for his opinion, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance, and for his bold and evil behaviour both at home and in the court. He endured his puniſhment with much obſtinacy, and when he was looſed, he ſaid boaſtingly, that God had marvelouſly aſſiſted him. Whereupon two or three honeſt men his neighbours affirmed before all the company, that he was of very looſe behaviour at home, and given much to lieing and idleneſs &c. nor had he any great occaſion to gather God's aſſiſtance from his ſtillneſs under the puniſhment which was but moderate, for divers notorious malefactors had ſhewed the like, and one the ſame court. 1644.

Here arrived Mons'r La Tour who underſtood by letters from his lady, that Mons'r D'Aulnay had prevailed againſt him in France, and was coming with great ſtrength to ſubdue him: whereupon he came to deſire ſome aid, if need ſhould be. (5) 15.

Nataſcott being formerly made a town, and having near 20 houſes and a miniſter, was by the laſt general court named Hull.

At this court Capt. Jenyſon, captain of the military company in Watertown, an able man who had been there from the firſt ſettling of that town, having a year before (being then a deputy) in private conference, queſtioned the lawfulneſs of the parliament's proceeding in England, was ſent for by the deputies, and examined about it, and after before the magiſtrates. He ingeniouſly confeſſed his ſcruple, but took offence, that being a church member, and in public office, he ſhould be openly produced, merely for matter of judgment, not having been firſt dealt with in private, either in a church way or by ſome of the magiſtrates, which ſeemed to ſome of the court to have been a failing. The court was unwilling to turn him out of place, having been a very uſeful man &c. yet not ſeeing how he might be truſted, being of that judgment,

1644. ment, yet profeſſing that he was aſſured that thoſe of the parliament ſide were the more godly and honeſt part of the kingdom, and that tho' if he were in England, he ſhould be doubtful whether he might take their part againſt their prince, yet if the king or any party from him, ſhould attempt any thing againſt this commonwealth, he ſhould make no ſcruple to ſpend eſtate and life and all in our defence againſt them. He was diſmiſſed to further conſideration, and the court being broken up, he came ſoon after to ſome of the magiſtrates and told them that this queſtioning in the court had occaſioned him to ſearch further into the point, and he was now ſatisfied that the parliament's cauſe was good, and if he were in England he would aſſiſt in defence of it.

The contentions in Hampton were grown to a great height, the whole town was divided into two factions one with Mr. Batchellor their late paſtor, and the other with Mr. Dalton their teacher, both men very paſſionate and wanting diſcretion and moderation. Their differences were not in matters of opinion but of practice, Mr. Dalton's part being the moſt of the church, and ſo freemen, had great advantage of the other, tho' a conſiderable part and ſome of them of the church alſo, whereby they carried all affairs both in church and town according to their own minds, and not with that reſpect to their brethren and neighbours which had been fit. Divers meetings had been both of magiſtrates and elders, and parties had been reconciled but brake out preſently again, each ſide being apt to take fire upon any provocation—whereupon Mr. Batchellor was adviſed to remove, and was called to Exeter whither he intended to go, but they being divided, and at great difference alſo, when one part had appointed a day of humiliation to gather a new church, and call Mr. Batchellor, the court ſent order to ſtop it, for they conſidered they were not in a fit condition for ſuch a work, and beſide, Mr. Batchellor had been in three places before, and through his means as was ſuppoſed, the churches fell to ſuch diviſions, as no peace could be 'till he was removed. And at this court there came petition againſt petition both from Hampton and Exeter; whereupon the court ordered two or three magiſtrates to be ſent to Hampton with full power to hear and determine all differences there.

At Wenham alſo there was a public aſſembly for gathering a church, but the magiſtrates and elders preſent, find-

finding upon trial, that the persons appointed were not fit for foundation stones, they advised them not to proceed, which they obeyed. 1644.

About this time Mr. Vines of Saco, Mr. Short of Pemaquid, and Mr. Waverton of Piscat: went to La Tour to call for some debts &c. In their way they put in at Penobscott and were there detained prisoners a few days; but after, for Mr. Short's sake, to whom D'Aulnay was in debt, they were dismissed: and going to La Tour, Mr. Waverton and some other englishmen of the eastern parts were entertained by him and sent with some 20 of his men to try if they could not take Penobscott, for he understood the fort was weakly manned and in want of victual. They went first to a farm house of D'Aulnay's about six miles off, and there Waverton and two more went and knocked at the door, with their swords and pistols ready: one opens the door, and another presently shoots Waverton dead, and a third shoots his second in the shoulder, but he withal discharged his pistol upon him that shot him, and killed him. Then other of Waverton's company came in and took the house and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and they burnt the house and killed the cattle they found there, and so embarked themselves and came to Boston to La Tour. This Thomas Waverton was a stout man and had been a soldier many years: he had lived very wickedly in whoredom, drunkeness and quarrelling, so as he had kept the Piscat: men under awe of him divers years 'till they came under this government, and since that he was much restrained, and the people freed from his terror. He had of late came under some terrors, and motions of the spirit by means of the preaching of the word, but he had shaken them off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued 'till God cut him off by this sudden execution. But this hostile action being led on by an englishman of our jurisdiction, it was like to provoke D'Aulnay the more against us. (4) & (5)

There was mention made before of a pinnace sent by the company of discoverers (3) 3. to Delaware river with letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors for liberty to pass. The dutch promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. When they came to the Swedes, the fort shot at them, ere they came up: whereupon they cast forth anchor, and the next morning, being the Lord's

1644. Lord's day, the lieut. came aboard them and forced them to fall down lower; when Mr. Aſpenwall came to the Governor and complained of the lieutenant's ill dealing both in ſhooting at them before he had hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's day. The Governor acknowledged he did ill in both, and promiſed all favor, but the dutch agent being come down to the Swede fort, ſhewed expreſs order from the dutch Governor not to let him paſs, whereupon they returned. But before they came out of the river, the Swediſh lieutenant made them pay 40*ſ.* for that ſhot which he had unduly made. The pinnace arrived at Boſton (5) 20.—44. See page .

A dutch ſhip came from the Weſt Indies and brought to Monhatoes 200 ſoldiers from Curaſſou, which was taken by the Portugal and the indians and 800 ſlain of the dutch part, as was reported.

23 La Tour having been with the Governor at Salem and made known his condition to him, he was moved with compaſſion towards him, and appointed a meeting of the magiſtrates and elders at Boſton this day. In opening La Tour's caſe it appeared that the place where his fort was, had been purchaſed by his father of Sir William Alexander, and he had a free grant of it, and of all that part of New Scotland, under the great ſeal of Scotland, and another grant of a Scott Baronet under the ſame ſeal; and that himſelf and his father had continued in poſſeſſion &c. about 30 years, and that Port Royal was their's alſo, until D'Aulnay had diſpoſſeſſed him of it by force within theſe five years. Moſt of the magiſtrates and ſome of elders were clear in the caſe that he was to be relieved, both in point of charity as a diſtreſſed neighbour, and alſo in point of prudence, as thereby to root out, or at leaſt weaken, an enemy or a dangerous neighbour. But becauſe many of the elders were abſent, and three or four of the magiſtrates diſſented, it was agreed the reſt of the elders ſhould be called in, and that another meeting ſhould be at Salem the next week. When they were met, the Governor propounded the caſe to them, and it was brought to the two former queſtions. 1. Whether it were lawful for true chriſtians to aid an antichriſtian. 2. Whether it were ſafe for us in point of prudence. After much diſputation, ſome of the magiſtrates and elders remaining unſatisfied, and the reſt not willing to conclude any thing in this caſe without a full conſent, a third way was propounded which all aſſented

unto, which was this, that a letter ſhould be ſent to D'Aulnay to this effect, viz. That by occaſion of ſome commiſſions of his (which had come to our hands) to his captains to take our people &c. and not knowing any juſt occaſion we had given him, to know the reaſon thereof, and withal to demand ſatisfaction for the wrongs he had done us and our confederates in taking Penobſcott, and our men and goods at Iſle Sable, and threatening to make prize of our veſſels if they came to Penobſcott &c. declaring withal that altho' our men which went laſt year to aid La Tour did it without any commiſſion from us, or any counſel or act of permiſſion of our ſtate; yet if he made it appear to us that they had done him any wrong (which yet we knew not of) we ſhould be ready to do him juſtice; and requiring his expreſs anſwer by the bearer, and expecting that he ſhould call in all ſuch commiſſions &c. We ſubſcribed the letter with the hands of eight of the magiſtrates, and directed it to Mons'r D'Aulnay Knight, General for the King of France in L. Acady at Port Royal. We ſent it in Engliſh becauſe he had written to our Governor in French, but underſtanding that he had been formerly ſcrupulous to anſwer letters in engliſh, we therefore gave the meſſenger a copy of it in French. We ſent alſo in the letter a copy of an order publiſhed by the Governor and council, whereby we forbad all our people to uſe any act of hoſtility otherwiſe than in their own defence, towards french or dutch &c. 'till the next general court &c. In our letter we alſo mentioned a courſe of trade our merchants had entered into with La Tour, and our reſolution to maintain them in it. 1644.

Before this letter was ſent we had intelligence from the W. Indies, that D'Aulnay was met at ſea by ſome Biſcayers and his ſhip ſunk, yet being not certain hereof when La Tour went home, we ſent the letter by a veſſel of our own which accompanied him, to be delivered if occaſion were. This news proved falſe and no ſuch thing was; and indeed it was ſo uſual to have falſe news brought from all parts, that we were very doubtful of the moſt probable reports.

At the ſame meeting there were three other queſtions on foot—the firſt was upon this occaſion.

Capt. Stagg arriving at Boſton in a ſhip of London of 24 pieces of ordonance, and finding there a ſhip of Briſtol of 100 tons, laden with fiſh for Bilboa, he made no

ſpeech

1644. ſpeech of any commiſſion he had, but having put on ſhore a good part of his lading, which was wine from Teneriffe, he ſuddenly weighed anchor and with the ſailed from before Boſton to Charleſtown and placed his ſhip betwen Charleſtown and the Britiſh ſhip, and moved himſelf aboard her. Then he called the maſter of the Britiſh ſhip and ſhewed him his commiſſion and told him if he would yield, himſelf and all his ſhould have what belonged to them and their wages to that day, and turning up the ½ hour glaſs, ſet him in his own ſhip again, requiring to have his anſwer by that time of ½ an hour. The maſter coming aboard acquainted his men with it, and demanded their reſolution: two or three would have faught, and rather have blown up ſhip than have yielded; but the greater part prevailed, ſo ſhe was quietly taken, and all the men ſave three ſent to Boſton, and there order was taken by the captain for their diet. In this ½ hour's time much people gathered together upon Windmill hill to ſee the iſſue, and ſome who had intereſt in the ſhip, eſpecially one Briſtoll merchant (a very bold malignant perſon) began to gather company and raiſe a tumult, but ſome of the people preſent laid hold of them and brought them to the Deputy Governor, who committed the merchant and ſome others who were ſtrangers to a chamber in an ordinary, with a guard upon them: and others who were town dwellers he committed to priſon, and ſent the conſtable to require the people to depart to their houſes; and then hearing that the ſhip was taken, he wrote to the captain to know by what authority he had done it in our harbour, who forthwith repaired to him with his commiſſion which was to this effect.

Rbt. comes Warwici &c. magnus Admiral in Anglia &c. orb: et cujuſcunque ſtatus honoris &c. ſalutum. Sciatis quod in regiſtro cuj: Admiralis &c.—and ſo recites the ordinance of parliament in Engliſh, to this effect. That it ſhould be lawful for all men &c. to ſet forth ſhips and to take all veſſels in or outward bound to or from Briſtoll, Barnſtable, Dartmouth &c. in hoſtility againſt the King and parliament, and to viſit all ſhips in any port or creek &c. by force, if they ſhould refuſe &c. & they were to have the whole prize to themſelves paying the £10 to the Admiral provided before they went forth they ſhould give ſecurity to the Admiral to obſerve their commiſſion, and that they ſhould make a true invoice of

all

all goods, and not break bulk, but bring the ſhip to the admiral and two or three of the officers, and that they ſhould not rob or ſpoil any of the parliaments friends, and ſo concludes thus. Stagg Capitanis obligavit ſe &c. in bis mille libris &c. In cujus rei teſtimonio ſigillum Admiralis apponi feci. 1644.

Dated, March, 1644.

Upon ſight of this commiſſion the Deputy appointed Capt. Stagg to bring or ſend it to the meeting at Salem, and the tumult being pacified, he took bond with ſureties, of the principal ſtirrers, to appear at the meeting and to keep the peace in the mean time. The captain brought his commiſſion to Salem and there it was read and conſidered. Some of the elders, the laſt Lord's day, had in their ſermons reproved his proceeding, and exhorted the magiſtrates &c. to maintain the people's liberties, which were, they ſaid, violated by this act, and that a commiſſion could not ſuperſede a patent: and at this meeting ſome of the magiſtrates and ſome of the elders were of the ſame opinion, and that the captain ſhould be forced to reſtore the ſhip. But the greater part of both were of a different judgment—Their reaſons were theſe.

1. Becauſe this could be no precedent to bar us from oppoſing any commiſſion or other foreigh power that might indeed tend to our hurt or violate our liberty; for the parliament had taught us, that *ſalus populi* is *ſuprema lex*.

2. The King of England was enraged againſt us and all that party, and all the popiſh ſtates in Europe: and if we ſhould now, by oppoſing the parliament, cauſe them to forſake us, we could have no protection or countenance from any, but ſhould lie open as a prey to all men.

3. We might not deny the parliament's power in this caſe, unleſs we ſhould deny the foundation of our government by our patent; for the parliament's authority will take place in all peculiar and privileged places where the King's writs or commiſſions will not be of force; as in the Dutchy of Lancaſter, the Cinque ports, and in London itſelf, the parliament may fetch at any man, even the Lord Mayor himſelf, and the reaſon is, becauſe what the parliament doth is done by themſelves, for they have their burgeſſes &c. there; nor need they fear that the parliament will do any man wrong: and we have conſented to hold our land of the manor of E. Greenwich, and ſo ſuch as are burgeſſes or knights for that manor, are

1644. our burgeſſes alſo. This only might help us, that the King giving us land which was none of his, but we were forced to purchaſe it of the natives, or ſubdue it as *vacuum domicillium*, we are not bound to hold that of him which was not his. But if we ſtand upon this plea, we muſt then renounce our patent and England's protection, which were a great weakneſs in us, ſeeing their care hath been to ſtrengthen our liberties and not overthrow them: and if the parliament ſhould hereafter be of a malignant ſpirit &c. then if we have ſtrength ſufficient, we may make uſe of *ſalus populi* to withſtand any authority from thence to our hurt.

4. Again, if we who have ſo openly declared our affection to the cauſe of the parliament by our prayers, faſtings &c. ſhould now oppoſe their authority, or do any thing that might make ſuch an appearance, it would be laid hold on by thoſe in Virginia and the W. Indies to confirm them in their rebellious courſe; and it would grieve all our godly friends in England, or any other of the parliament's friends.

5. Laſtly, if any of our people have any goods in the ſhip, it is not to be queſtioned, but upon teſtimony, the parliament will take order for their ſatisfaction.

It was objected by ſome, that our's is *perfecta reſpublica* and ſo not ſubject to appeals, and conſequently to no other power but among ourſelves. It was anſwered, that tho' our patent frees us from appeals in caſes of judicature, yet not in point of ſtate; for the king of England cannot erigere perfectam rempublicam in ſuch a ſenſe: for *nemo poteſt plus jure in alios transferre quam in ſe habet*; he hath not an abſolute power without the parliament.

Upon theſe and other conſiderations it was not thought fit to oppoſe the parliament's commiſſion, but to ſuffer the captain to enjoy his prize. But becauſe ſome of our merchants had put goods aboard her wherein they claimed property, they deſired to try their right by action, to which the captain conſented to appear, ſo a court was called of purpoſe, the iſſue thereof follows after.

The third matter which fell into conſideration at the ſaid meeting at Salem was about one Franklin who at the laſt court of aſſiſtants was found guilty of murder, but ſome of the magiſtrates doubting of the juſtice of the caſe, he was reprieved 'till the next court of aſſiſtants. The caſe was this. He had taken to apprentice one Nathaniel Se-

Sewell one of thoſe children ſent over the laſt year for the country; the boy had the ſcurvy, and was withal very noiſome, and otherwiſe ill diſpoſed. His maſter uſed him with continual rigor and unmerciful correction, and expoſed him many times to much cold and wet in the winter ſeaſon, and uſed divers acts of rigor towards him, as hanging him in the chimney &c. and the boy being very poor and weak, he tied him upon an horſe and ſo brought him (ſometimes ſitting and ſometimes hanging down) to Boſton, being five miles off, to the magiſtrates; and by the way the boy calling much for water, would give him none, tho' he came cloſe by it, ſo as the boy was near dead when he came to Boſton, and died within few hours after. Thoſe who doubted whether this were murder or not, did ſtick upon two reaſons chiefly. 1. That it did not appear that the maſter's intention was to hurt him, but to reform him. 2. In that which was moſt likely to be the occaſion or cauſe of his death, he was buſied about an action which in itſelf was lawful, viz. the bringing of him before the magiſtrates; and murder cannot be committed but where the action and intention both are evil. To this it was anſwered—that this continual act of cruelty did bring him to death by degrees, and the laſt act was the conſummation of it; and that this act, in regard to the ſubject, who to the apprehenſion of all that ſaw him, was more fit to be kept in his bed, than to be haled to correction, was apparently unlawful. As in caſe a man had a ſervant ſick in bed of the ſmall pox newly come forth, and that his maſter knowing and ſeeing theſe upon his body ſhould, againſt the phyſician's advice, hale him forth of his bed into the open air in froſty weather, upon pretence that he might eaſe nature &c. this act in regard of the ſtate of the ſubject, were utterly unlawful, and if the ſervant ſhould die under his hand &c. it were murder in him. As for the intention, though *prima intentio* might be to reform him, yet ſure *proxima intentio* was evil, becauſe it aroſe from diſtemper of paſſion; and if a man in a ſudden paſſion kill his dear friend or child, it is murder, though his *prima intentio* were to inſtruct or admoniſh him: and in ſome caſes where there appears no intention to hurt, as where a man knowing his ox to have uſed to puſh, ſhall not keep him in, ſo as he kills a man, he was to die for it, though to keep an ox were a lawful act, and he did not intend hurt, but becauſe he did not what he reaſonably ought to prevent &c, therefore he was a murderer:—And that in Exodus 1644.

1644. if a maſter ſtrike his ſervant with a rod, which is a lawful action, and he die under his hand (as this ſervant did) he was to die for it:—And that in Deut. if a man ſtrike with a weapon or with his hand, or any thing wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer,—ſhews plainly, that let the means be what it may, if it be voluntarily applied to an evil intent, it is murder; according to that judgment given againſt her that gave a potion to one to procure his love, and it killed him, it was adjudged murder.

All the magiſtrates ſeeming to be ſatisfied upon this conference, warrant was ſigned by the Governor for his execution a week after: which was not approved by ſome in regard of his reprieval to the next court of aſſiſtants, but it was without any good reaſon: for a condemned man is in the power of the magiſtrate to be executed when he pleaſe, and the reprieval was no ſtipulation or covenant with him, but a determination among the magiſtrates for the ſatisfaction of ſome who were doubtful, which ſatisfaction being attained, *currat lex* &c. Pro. 22. He ſhall go to the pit, let no man hinder him.

This man had been admitted into the church of Roxbury about a month before, and upon this he was caſt out; but the church in compaſſion to his ſoul, after his condemnation, procured licence for him to come to Roxbury, intending to receive him in again before he died, if they might find him truly penitent. But tho' preſently after his condemnation he judged himſelf, and juſtified God and the court, yet then he quarrelled with the witneſſes, and juſtified himſelf, and ſo continued even to his execution, profeſſing aſſurance of ſalvation, and that God would never lay the boy his death to his charge, but the guilt of his blood would lie upon the country. Only a little before he was turned off the ladder, he ſeemed to apprehend ſome hardneſs of heart that he could not ſee himſelf guilty of that which others did,

A fourth matter then in conſideration was upon a ſpeech which the Governor made to this effect, viz. 1. That he could not but bewail the great differences and jarrings which were upon all occaſions, among the magiſtrates, and between them and the deputies—that the ground of this was jealouſies and miſreports; and thereupon ſome elders ſiding &c. but not dealing with any of them in a way of God; but hearing them reproached and paſſing it in ſilence: alſo their authority queſtioned, as if they had none out of court but what muſt be grant-

ed them by commiſſion from the general court &c.—and the way to redreſs hereof was, that the place and power of magiſtrates and deputies might be known; and ſo the elders were deſired (which they willingly aſſented to) to be mediators of a thorough reconciliation, and to go about it preſently, and to meet at Boſton two or three days before the next court to perfect the ſame. But indeed the magiſtrates did all agree very well together except two only, viz. Mr. Bellingham, and Mr. Saltonſtall, who took part with the deputies againſt the other ten magiſtrates about their power, and in other caſes where any difference was. And ſome of the elders had done no good offices in this matter thro' their miſapprehenſions both of the intentions of the magiſtrates, and alſo of the matters themſelves, being affairs of ſtate, which did not belong to their calling. 1644.

The merchants which had to do with the goods in the ſhip which was ſeized by Capt. Stagg, being deſirous to do their utmoſt to ſave their principals in England from damage, knowing them to be honeſt men and faithful to the parliament, intended to have a trial at law about it, and procured an attachment againſt the captain; but they were diſſuaded from that courſe, and the Deputy ſent for Capt. Stagg and acquainted him with it, and took his word for his appearance at the next court which was called of purpoſe. When the Governor and ſix other of the magiſtrates were met (for the Governor did not ſend for ſuch as dwelt far off) and the jury, the merchants were purſuaded not to put it to a jury, for the jury could find no more but the matter of fact, viz. whoſe the goods were, whether the merchants in England or theirs who ſhipped them, in regard they had not yet made any conſignment of them, nor taken any bills of lading: and this the magiſtrates could as well determine upon proof, and certify accordingly: for it was reſolved not to uſe any force againſt the parliament's authority; and accordingly they certified the Lord Admiral of the true ſtate of the caſe as they found it upon examination and oath of the factors.

The pinnace which went to Delaware upon diſcovery returned with loſs of their voyage. The occaſion was, the Dutch Governor made a proteſt againſt them, yet promiſed them leave to paſs &c. provided they ſhould not trade with the indians: alſo the Swediſh Governor gave them leave to paſs, but would not permit them to trade.

1644. trade; and for that end each of them had appointed a pinnace to wait upon our pinnace, but withal the maſter of their veſſel proved ſuch a drunken ſott, and ſo complied with the Dutch and Swedes as they feared. When they ſhould have left the veſſel to have gone up to the lake in a ſmall boat, he would in his drunkenneſs have betrayed their goods &c. to the Dutch, whereupon they gave over and returned home; and bringing their action againſt the maſter both for his drunkenneſs and denial to proceed as they required, and as by charter party he was bound, they recovered £200 of him, which was too much, tho' he did deal badly with them, for it was very probable they could not have proceeded.

There fell out a troubleſome buſineſs at Boſton, upon this occaſion. There arrived here a Portugal ſhip with ſalt, having in it two engliſhmen only. One of theſe happened to be drunk and was carried to his lodging, and the conſtable (a godly man and zealous againſt ſuch diſorders) hearing of it, found him out, being upon his bed aſleep, ſo he awaked him, and bade him to the ſtocks, there being no magiſtrate at home. He being in the ſtocks, one of La Tour's gentlemen lifted up the ſtocks and let him out. The conſtable hearing of it went to the frenchman (being then gone and quiet) and would needs carry him to the ſtocks; the frenchman offered to yield himſelf to go to priſon, but the conſtable not underſtanding his language preſſed him to go to the ſtocks: the frenchman reſiſted and drew his ſword—with that company came in and diſarmed him, and carried him by force to the ſtocks, but ſoon after the conſtable took him out and carried him to priſon, and preſently after took him forth again and delivered him to La Tour. Much tumult there was about this: many frenchmen were in town, and other ſtrangers which were not ſatisfied with this dealing of the conſtable, yet were quiet. In the morning the magiſtrates examined the cauſe and ſent for La Tour who was much grieved for his ſervants miſcarriage, and alſo for the diſgrace put upon him (for in France it is a moſt ignominious thing to be laid in the ſtocks) but yet he complained not of any injury, but left him wholly to the magiſtrates to do with him what they pleaſed. The magiſtrates told him they were ſorry to have any ſuch occaſion againſt any of his ſervants, but they muſt do juſtice, and therefore they muſt commit him to priſon except he could find ſureties to be forth coming,

to

to anſwer &c. and to keep the peace. La Tour's gentlemen offered to engage themſelves for him.—They anſwered they might not take ſecurity of ſtrangers in this caſe, otherwiſe they would have deſired no more than La Tour's own word. Upon this two engliſhmen, members of the church of Boſton, ſtanding by, offered to be his ſureties, whereupon he was bailed 'till he ſhould be called for, becauſe La Tour was not like to ſtay 'till the court. This was thought too much favor for ſuch an offence by many of the common people, but by our law bail could not be denied him, and beſide the conſtable was the occaſion of all this in tranſgreſſing the bounds of his office. and that in ſix things. 1. In fetching a man out of his lodging that was aſleeep upon his bed and without any warrant from authority. 2. In not getting a hook upon the ſtocks, nor ſetting ſome to guard them. 3. In laying hands upon the Frenchman that had opened the ſtocks when he was gone and quiet, and no diſturbance of the peace then appearing. 4. In carrying him to priſon without warrant. 5. In delivering him out of priſon without warant. 6. In putting ſuch a reproach upon a ſtranger and a gentleman, when there was no need, for he knew he would be forthcoming, and the magiſtrate would be at home that evening: but ſuch are the fruits of ignorant and miſguided zeal. It might have coſt much blood and no good done by it, and juſtice might have had a more fair and ſafe way, if the conſtable had kept within his own bounds, and had not interfered upon the authority of the magiſtrate. But the magiſtrates thought not convenient to lay theſe things to the conſtables charge before the aſſembly, but rather to admoniſh him for it in private leſt they ſhould have diſcouraged and diſcountenanced an honeſt officer, and given occaſion to the offenders and their abettors to inſult over him. The conſtable may reſtrain, and if need be, impriſon in the ſtocks, ſuch as he ſees diſturbing the peace, but when the affray is ended and the parties departed and in quiet, it is the office of the magiſtrate to make inquiry and to puniſh it, and the perſons ſo wrongfully impriſoned by the conſtable might have had their action of falſe impriſonment againſt him. 1644.

About 9 in the evening there fell a great flame of fire down into the water towards Pullen point; it lighted the air far about: it was no lightning, for the ſky was very clear. (6) 26.

At

1644. At Stamford an indian came into a poor man's houſe, none being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, and takng up a lathing hammer as if he would have bought it, the woman ſtooping down to take her child out of the cradle, he ſtruck her with the ſharp edge upon the ſide of her head, wherewith ſhe fell down, and then he gave her two cuts more which pierced into her brains, and ſo left her for dead, carrying away ſome cloaths which lay at hand. This woman after a ſhort time came to herſelf and got out to a neighbours houſe, and told what had been done to her and deſcribed the indian by his perſon and cloaths &c. Whereupon many indians of thoſe parts were brought before her, and ſhe charged one of them confidently to be the man, whereupon he was put in priſon with intent to have put him to death, but he eſcaped, and the woman recovered, but loſt her ſenſes. A good time after the indians brought another indian whom they charged to have committed that fact, and he, upon examination confeſſed it, and gave the reaſon thereof, and brought forth ſome of the cloaths which he had ſtolen. Upon this the magiſtrates of New-Haven taking advice of the elders in thoſe parts, and ſome here, did put him to death. The executioner would ſtrike off his head with a falchion, but he had eight blows at it before he could effect it, and the indian ſat upright and ſtirred not all the time.

(7) 7. Here came a pinnace from Virginia with letters from the Governor and Council there for procuring powder and ſhot to proſecute their war againſt the indians, but we were weakly provided ourſelves, and ſo could not afford them any help in that kind.

9 Mr. La Tour departed from Boſton; all our train bands (it being then the ordinary training day) made a guard for him to his boat; and the Deputy Governor and many others accompanied him to the wharf. When he was aboard his bark he weighed and ſet ſail and ſhot off all his guns, which were ſix, and our ſmall ſhot gave him a volley and one piece of ordonance, and all the ſhips, viz. four, ſaluted him, each of them with three pieces.

At the court of aſſiſtants, Thomas Morton was called forth preſently after the lecture, that the country might be ſatisfied of the juſtice of our proceeding againſt him. There was laid to his charge his complaint againſt us at the council board, which he denied, then we produced the copy of the bill exhibited by Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner &c.

where-

wherein we were charged with treaſon, rebellion &c. wherein he was named as a party or witneſs. He denied that he had any hand in the information, only was called as a witneſs. To convince him to be the principal party, it was ſhewed. 1. That Gardiner had no occaſion to complain againſt us, for he was kindly uſed, and diſmiſſed in peace, profeſſing much engagement for the great courtſey he found here. 2. Morton had ſet forth a book againſt us, and had threatened us, and had proſecuted a quo warranto againſt us, which he did not deny. 3. His letter was produced written ſoon after to Mr. Jeffery his old acquaintance and intimate friend, in theſe words. 1644.

My very good Goſſip,

If I ſhould commend myſelf to you, you reply with this proverb *propria laus ſondet in ore:* but to leave impertinent ſalute, and really to proceed.—You ſhall hereby underſtand that altho' when I was firſt ſent to England to make complaint againſt Ananias and the brethren, I effected the buſineſs but ſuperficially (thro' the brevity of time) I have at this time taken more deliberation and brought the matter to a better paſs. And it is thus brought about, that the king hath taken the buſineſs into his own hands. The Maſſachuſetts Patent, by order of the council, was brought in view—the privileges there granted well ſcanned upon: and at the council board in public, and in the preſence of Sir Richard Saltonſtall and the reſt, it was declared, for manifeſt abuſes there diſcovered, to be void. The king hath reaſſumed the whole buſineſs into his own hands—appointed a committee of the board, and given order for a general government of the whole territory to be ſent over. The commiſſion is paſſed the privy ſeal, I did ſee it, and the ſame was 10th May ſent to the Lord Keeper to have it paſs the great ſeal for confirmation; and I now ſtay to return with the Governor, by whom all complainants ſhall have relief: So that now Jonas being ſet aſhore may ſafely cry—Repent you cruel ſeperatiſts, Repent: there are as yet but 40 days, if you vouchſafe to thunder, the Charter and kingdom of the ſeperatiſts will fall aſunder. Repent you cruel repent. Theſe things have happened, and I ſhall ſee (notwithſtanding their boaſting and falſe alarms in the Maſſachuſetts with feigned cauſe of thanſgiving) their mercileſs cruelty rewarded, according to the merit of the

1644. fact, with condign puniſhment for coming into theſe parts like Sampſon's foxes, with fire-brands at their tails. The king and council are really poſſeſſed of their prepoſterous loyalty and irregular proceedings and are incenſed againſt them: and altho' they be ſo opppoſite to the catholic opinions, yet they will be compelled to perform them, or at leaſt muſt ſuffer them to be put in practice to their ſorrow. In matter of reſtitution and ſatisfaction, more than miſtically, it muſt be performed viſibly, and in ſuch ſort as may be ſubject to the ſenſes in a very lively image. My Lord Canterbury having, with my Lord Privy Seal, cauſed all Mr. Craddock's letters to be viewed, and his apology in particular; for the brethren here proteſted againſt him and Mr. Humphry's, that they were a couple of impoſterous knaves; ſo that for all their great friends, they departed the council chamber in our view with a pair of cold ſhoulders. I have ſtaid long, yet have not loſt my labour, altho' the brethren have found their hopes fruſtrated; ſo that it follows by conſequence, I ſhall ſee my deſire upon mine enemies: and if Jo: Grant had not betaken him to flight I had taught him to ſing *clamavi* in the fleet before this time, and if he return before I depart, he will pay dear for his preſumption; for here he finds me a ſecond Perſeus. I have uncaſed Meduſa's head, and ſtruck the brethren into aſtoniſhment. They find, and will yet more to their ſhame, that they abuſe the word and are to blame to preſume ſo much—that they are but a word and a blow to them that are without. Of theſe particulars I thought good by ſo convenient a meſſenger, to give you notice, leſt you ſhould think I had died in obſcurity, as the brethren vainly intended I ſhould, and baſely practiſed, abuſing juſtice by their ſiniſter practices, as by the whole body of the committee, *una voce*, it was concluded to be done, to the dishonor of his maſter.—And as for Ratcliffe, he was comforted by their lordſhips with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears: which ſhews what opinion is held amongſt them of K. Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amſterdam fantaſtical ordinances—his preachings, marriages and other abuſive ceremonies, which do exemplify his deteſtation to the church of England, and the contempt of his maſter's authority and wholeſome laws which are and will be eſtabliſhed in theſe parts *invita Minerva*. With theſe I thought fit to ſalute you as a

friend

friend, by an epiſtle, becauſe I am bound to love you, as a brother, by the goſpel—reſting your loving friend, 1644.

THOMAS MORTON.

Dated 1 mo. May 1634.

The patent was called for An. 1634 by order of council.

Having been kept in priſon about a year, in expectation of further evidence out of England, he was again called before the court, and after ſome debate what to do with him, he was fined £100—and ſet at liberty. He was a charge to the country, for he had nothing, and we tho't not fit to inflict corporeal puniſhment upon him, being old and crazy, but thought better to fine him and give him his liberty, as if it had been to procure his fine, but indeed to leave him opportunity to go out of the juriſdiction, as he did ſoon after, and he went to Acomenticus, and living there poor and deſpiſed, he died within two years after.

Here arrived a ſhip from Dartmouth, ſhe was impreſſed into the king's ſervice, and ſent to ſea in the Earl of Marlborough's fleet, but ſhe left the fleet and took in wine and ſalt at the S. Iſlands and went to Virginia, where he left his merchants and divers of his men, and not putting off his goods there he came to Boſton, where the London ſhip, Capt. Balye commander, having commiſſion from the parliament, would have taken him, but he ſtood upon his defence, and was able to keep his ſhip againſt the other. But another queſtion aroſe about her upon this occaſion—Our merchants of Boſton had ſet out a ſmall ſhip worth £1500—which being trading in Wales was taken by the king's ſhips, whereupon the merchants deſired leave to ſeize this ſhip for their ſatisfaction—on the other ſide, the maſter being come under our command, deſired our protection. Our anſwer was, that if he would deliver his ſailors on ſhore we would protect him 'till the court &c. See more next leaf. (7) 16.

The lady La Tonr arrived here from London in a ſhip commanded by Capt Baylye. They had been ſix months from London, having ſpent their time in trading about Canada &c. They met with D'Aulnay near Cape Sable, and told him they were bound for the Bay, and had ſtowed the lady and her people under hatches, ſo he not knowing it was Capt. Baylye, whom he erneſtly ſought for to have taken or ſunk him, he wrote by the maſter to the Dep. Governor to this effect—That his maſter the king of France underſtanding that the aid La Tour had here 17

the

1644. the laſt year was upon the commiſſion he ſhewed from the Vice Admiral of France, gave him in charge not to moleſt us for it, but to hold all good correſpondency with us and all the Engliſh, which he profeſſed he was deſirous of ſo far as might ſtand with his duty to his maſter, and withal that he intended to ſend to us ſo ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs, to let us know what further commiſſion he had, and his ſincerity in the buſineſs of La Tour &c.

Here arrived alſo Mr. Roger Williams of Providence, and with him two or three families. He brought with him a letter from divers lords and others of the parliament, the copy whereof enſueth.

Our much honored friends.

Taking notice, ſome of us of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conſcience, and of his ſufferings by our common enemies and oppreſſors of God's people the prelate: as alſo of his great induſtry and travail in his printed indian labours in your parts, the like whereof we have not ſeen extant from any part of Ameria, and in which reſpect it hath pleaſed both houſes of parliament freely to grant unto him and friends with him, a free and abſolute character of civil govenment for theſe parts of his abode: and withal ſorrowfully reſenting, that amongſt good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exerciſed with the trials of a wilderneſs, and who mutually give good teſtimony each of other, as we obſerve you do of him, and he abundantly of you; there ſhould be ſuch a diſtance. We thought it fit upon divers conſiderations, to profeſs our great deſires of both your utmoſt endeavours of nearer cloſing, and of ready expreſſing of thoſe good affections, which we perceive you bear each to other, in the actual performance of all friendly offices; the rather becauſe of thoſe bad neighbours you are like to find too near unto you in Virginia, and the unfriendly viſits from the Weſt of England and from Ireland: that howſoever it may pleaſe the Moſt High to ſhake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and proſperous plantations may be ſome refreſhing to

Your true and faithful friends

NORTHUMBERLAND, P. WHARTON,
RO. HARLYE, THOS. BARRINGTON,
WM. MASHAM, OB. St. JOHN,

Jo.

Jo. Gurdon, Isaac Pennington, 1644.
Cor. Holland, Gil. Pykering,
J. Blakiston, Miles Corbet.

To the Right Worſhipful the Governor and Aſſiſtants and the reſt of our worthy friends in the plantation of Maſſachuſetts Bay, in New-England.

Two churches were appointed to be gathered, one at Haverill and the other at Andover, both upon Merrimack river. They had given notice thereof to the magiſtrates and elders who deſired, in regard of their far remoteneſs and ſcarcity of houſing there, the meeting might be at Rowley, which they aſſented unto, but being aſſembled, moſt of thoſe who were to join, refuſed to declare how God had carried on the work of his grace in them, upon this reaſon, becauſe they had declared it formerly in their admiſſion into other churches; whereupon the aſſembly brake up without proceeding &c.

The Governor and other of the magiſtrates met at Boſton upon two ſpecial occaſions; the one was for trial of an action between the Lady La Tour and Capt. Baylye for not carrying her &c. to her own place, and for ſome injuries done her aboard his ſhip. See more after.

The other was upon the requeſt of ſome merchants of Boſton, who having a ſhip taken in Wales by the king's party, deſired recompence by a ſhip of Dartmouth riding in our harbour; whereupon we ſent for the maſter of the Dartmouth ſhip, who delivered his ſhip into our hands 'till the cauſe ſhould be tried, which he did the more willingly, for that ſome London ſhips of greater force riding alſo in our harbour, had threatened to take him; and the next morning Capt. Richardſon (having commiſſion from the Lord Admiral) fitted his ſhip to take her, notwithſtanding that he had been forbidden over night by the Dep. Governor to meddle with her, being under our protection, and lying ſo before Boſton as their ſhot muſt needs do harm. Whereupon the Governor and the other magiſtrates (ſetting then in court) aroſe and went to take order about it, and having over night given commiſſion to ſome to make ſeizure of the Dartmouth ſhip, they went aboard her with their commiſſion, and an officer was ſent with warrant to ſtay Capt. Richardſon, but he being then come to anchor cloſe by the other ſhip, he could not (or would not) ſtay, but ſuffered his men to enter the other ſhip, and the maſter coming aboard him at his

1644. his requeſt, he detained him priſoner; whereupon the Governor &c. ſent two other maſters of ſhips to him to command him aſhore, but he ſeeing his men ſo unruly, and fearing they would fall to fight or pillage in his abſcene (as he after told us) excuſed himſelf for not coming upon that command. Upon which fire was given to a warning piece from the battery, which cut a rope in the head of his ſhip: and upon that one of his men, without any command, ran down haſtily to fire upon our battery; but it pleaſed God that he hurt himſelf in the way, and ſo was not able to go on. A ſtranger alſo (unbidden) gave fire to another piece on the battery which was levelled at the bow of his ſhip, but it ſtruck againſt the head of a bolt in the cut-water of the Dartmouth ſhip, and went no further. Then we ſent 40 men armed aboard the Dartmouth ſhip, and upon that Capt. Richardſon came aſhore and acknowledged his error, and his ſorrow for what he had done, yet with alledging ſome reaſons for his excuſe: ſo we only ordered him to pay a barrel of powder, and to ſatisfy the officers and ſoldiers we had employed &c. and diſmiſſed him. The reaſon was, becauſe (thro' the Lord's ſpecial providence) there was no hurt done, nor had he made one ſhot; for if he had, we were reſolved to have taken or ſunk him, which we might eaſily have done, lying cloſe under our battery, ſo as we could have played upon him with whole culverin or demi culverin ſix hours together, nor had he yet ſhewed to us or to the maſter of the Dartmouth ſhip, any commiſſion: but after, he ſhewed only an ordinary commiſſion from the Lord Admiral, not under the great ſeal, nor grounded upon any ordinance of parliament as Capt. Stagg's was: therefore we forbad him to meddle with any ſhip in our harbour, for he could not by that commiſſion take a ſhip in any place exempt from the Admiral's juriſdiction. Having thus ſeized this ſhip we were to conſult what to do with her. Upon examination we found that the maſter and company were Dartmouth men, and that the ſhip had formerly been employed in the parliaments ſerviſe, but Dartmouth being taken by the king, ſhe had been employed for taking a veſſel or two of the parliaments under the ſame maſter, but a captain put over him, and many ſoldiers, and was ſince ſold to a merchant of P—— Iſland, and by his agent ſent forth upon merchant affairs to divers places, and to repair at laſt to St. Malloes in France where the agent dwelt, who

was

was an engliſhman and had uſed to trade at Dartmouth, whoſe letter of advice and the bill of ſale of the ſhip were produced by the maſter. It appeared further to us, that Dartmouth had been cordial to the parliament, and ſtood out ſeven days againſt 12,000 men; and after it was ſurrendered did generally refuſe to take the oath to the king, and the maſter among others, and that they had many better ſhips there which lay ſtill at home, and ſuch as they ſent forth they were not to come home but by advice. Yet it appeared after by divers teſtimonies, that ſhe belonged to Dartmouth, and the charter party alſo, and that the maſter was part owner. Divers of the elders being called in for advice, agreed (near all) that ſhe might be ſeized to ſatisfy for our two ſhips which the king's party had taken from us, and accordingly commiſſion was given by the Governor and Council to the merchant to ſeize and uſe her, giving ſecurity to be reſponſible and £8 per 100 if ſhe ſhould be lawfully recovered within 13 months, but the company to have their wages and goods. 1644.

While the Governor and other of the magiſtrates were at Boſton, a boat ſent from Mr. D'Aulnay with ten men arrived at Salem, hearing that the Governor dwelt there. There was in her one Marie, ſuppoſed to be a fryar, but habited like a gentleman. He wrote a letter to our Governor by a gentleman of his company to know where he ſhould attend him: and upon our Governor's anſwer to him, he came the next day to Boſton, and with letters of credence and commiſſion from Mr. D'Aulnay; he ſhewed us the king of France his commiſſion under the great ſeal of France, with the privy ſeal annexed, wherein the proceedings againſt La Tour were verified, and he condemned as a rebel and traitor &c. with command for the apprehenſion of himſelf and lady, who had fled out of France againſt ſpecial order, under &c. He complained alſo of the wrong done by our men the year in aſſiſting of La Tour &c. and profered terms of peace and amity. We anſwered to the 1. That divers of the ſhips and moſt of the men were ſtrangers to us, and had no commiſſion from us, nor any permiſſion to uſe any hoſtility, and we were very ſorry when we heard what had been done: this gave him ſatisfaction. To the other propoſition we anſwered, that we could not conclude any league with him, without the advice of the commiſſioners of the united colonies; but if he would ſet down his propoſitions in writing, we would conſider further of them: and with-

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1644. al we acqainted him with what we had lately written to Mr. D'Aulnay, and the injuries we had complained of to him, ſo he withdrew himſelf to his lodging at Mr. Fowler's, and drew out both his propoſitions and anſwers to our complaints, in French, and returned to us. He added two propſitions more, one that we would aid him againſt La Tour, and the other that we would not aſſiſt *him*, and gave reaſonable anſwer to our demands. Upon theſe things we diſcourſed half the day,—ſometimes with our Governor in french and otherwhile with the reſt of the magiſtrates in latin. We urged much for a reconciliation with La Tour, and that he would permit his lady to go to her huſband. His anſwer was, that if La Tour would voluntary ſubmit and come in, he would aſſure him his life and liberty, but if he were taken he were ſure to loſe his head in France; and for his lady, ſhe was known to be the cauſe of his contempt and rebellion, and therefore they could not let her go to him, but if we ſhould ſend her in any of our veſſels he muſt take her, and if we carried any goods to La Tour he would take them alſo, but he would give us ſatisfaction for them. In the end we came to this agreement, which was drawn up in latin in theſe words, and ſigned by the Governor and ſix other magiſtrates and Mr. Marie, whereof one copy we kept and the other he carried with him. He came to Boſton the 6 day very late, and made great haſte away, ſo he departed on the 8 day following. We furniſhed him with horſes and ſent him to Salem well accompanied, and offered him a bark to carry him home, but he refuſed it. We entertained him with all courteous reſpect, and he ſeemed to be ſurprized with his unexpected entertainment, and gave a very liberal teſtimony of his kind acceptance thereof and aſſurance of Mr. D'Aulnay's engagement to us for it. The agreement between us was this.

The agreement between Jo: Endicot, Eſq. Governor of the Maſſachuſetts in N. England and the reſt of the magiſtrates there, and Mr. Marie commiſſioner of Mr. D'Aulnay knight, Governor and Lieut. General of his majeſty the king of France in Acadie a province of N. F. made and ratified at Boſton in the Maſſachuſetts aforeſaid, 8. die menſis 8. An. Dom. 1644.

The Governor and the reſt of the magiſtrates do promiſe to Mr. Marie that they and all the engliſh within the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts aforeſaid, ſhall obſerve and keep firm peace with Mr. D'Aulnay &c. and

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all the french under his command in Acadie: and likewiſe the ſaid Mr. Marie doth promiſe for Mr. D'Aulnay, that he and all his peogle ſhall alſo keep firm peace with the Governor and magiſtrates aforeſaid, and with all the inhabitants of the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts aforeſaid;—and that it ſhall be lawful for all men, both french and engliſh to trade each with other: ſo that if any occaſion of offence ſhall happen, neither party ſhall attempt any thing againſt the other in any hoſtile manner before the wrong be firſt complained of, and due ſatisfaction not given. Provided always, the Governor and magiſtrates aforeſaid be not bound to reſtrain their merchants to trade with their ſhips with any perſons, either french or other, whereſoever they dwell: provided alſo, that the full ratification and concluſion of this agreement be referred to the next meeting of the commiſſioners of the united colonies of N. England, for the continuation or abrogation of the ſame; and in the mean time to remain firm and inviolate. By this agreement we were freed from the fear our people were in that Mr. D'Aulnay would take revenge of our ſmall veſſels or out plantations; for the harm he ſuſtained by our means the laſt year; and alſo from any further queſtion about that buſineſs. We were now alſo freed from as great a fear of war with the Naraganſetts; for the commiſſioners meeting at Hartford, ſent for Onkus and ſome from Naraganſett (a ſachem and a chief captain were ſent): and whereas the Naraganſett's plea againſt Onkus was, that he had put their ſachem to death after he had received a ranſom for his life: it was clearly proved otherwiſe, and that the things he received were part of them given him for his courteous uſage of the ſaid Miantonamoh and thoſe ſachems which were ſlain in the battle, and another part, that Miantonamoh might be delivered to the engliſh. In the end it was agreed by all parties that there ſhould be peace on all ſides till planting time were over the next year; and then neither of them ſhould attempt any hoſtile act againſt the other without firſt acquainting the engliſh &c. therewith. 1644.

The lady La Tour being arrived here, cemmenced her action againſt Capt. Baylye and the merchant (brother and factor to Alderman Berkley who freighted the ſhip) for not performing the charter party, having ſpent ſo much time upon the coaſt in trading, as they were near ſix months in coming and had not carried her to her fort

1644. as they ought and might have done: and upon a full hearing in a ſpecial court four days, the jury gave her £2,000, for had they come in any reaſonable time it might have been much more to their advantage in their trade and ſafety againſt D'Aulnay: whereas now it was like to occaſion their utter ruin; for ſhe knew not how to get home without hiring two or three ſhips of force.

La Tour, and a veſſel of ours in his company laden with proviſion, went hence with a fair wind, which if he had made uſe of, he had met with D'Aulnay,—and after he had touched at divers places by the way, and ſtaid there ſome time, he paſſed by Penobſcott ſoon after D'Aulnay was gone into the harbour, and ſo eſcaped, whereas if he had paſſed any time many days before, he muſt needs have been taken. This veſſel of ours in her return was met by D'Aulnay, who ſtayed her, and taking the maſter aboard his ſhip, manned the other with frenchmen, and telling the maſter his intention, and aſſuring him of all good uſage and recompence for the ſtay of his veſſel (all which he really performed) he brought her with him to the mouth of St. John's river; and then her boat with one gentleman of his own to La Tour to ſhew his commiſſion, and withal deſired the maſter to write to La Tour to deſire him to diſmiſs the meſſenger ſafely, for otherwiſe D'Aulnay would keep him for hoſtage (yet he aſſured him he would not do it) ſo La Tour diſmiſſed the meſſenger in peace, which he profeſſed he would not have done but for our maſter's ſake.—D'Aulnay carried our catch with him to Port Royal, where he uſed the maſter very courteouſly and gave him credit for fiſh &c. he bought of him, and recompence for keeping his veſſel and ſo diſmiſſed him. Preſently after their return we ſent another veſſel to trade with D'Aulnay, and by it the Dep. Governor wrote to D'Aulnay to ſhew the cauſe of ſending her, with profeſſion of our deſire of holding good correſpondency with him &c. and withal perſuading him by divers arguments to entertain peace with La Tour. That veſſel found courteous entertainment with him, and he took off all her commodities, but not at ſo good rates as they expected.

The lady La Tour having arreſted the captain and merchant of the ſhip, they were forced to deliver their cargoe on ſhore to free their perſons, by which means ſhe laid her execution upon them to the value of £1100—More could not

not be had without unfurniſhing the ſhip, which muſt have been by force, for otherwiſe the maſter and ſeamen would deliver none. The maſter petitioned the general court for his freight and wages, for which the goods ſtood bound by charter party. The general court was much divided about it, but the major part voted that none was due her, nor the goods bound for them,—but the major part of the deputies being of another judgment, they made uſe of their negative vote, and ſo nothing was ordered. Whereupon the maſter brought his action at the next court of aſſiſtants: when it came to be tried, two of the aſſiſtants were of opinion that it ought not to be put to trial becauſe the general court had the hearing and voting of it: but it was anſwered by the reſt (the Governor being abſent) that ſeeing the general court had made no order in it, this court might hear and determine it, as if the general court had never taken cognizance of it; accordingly it was put to the jury upon this iſſue—Whether the goods were ſecurity for the freight &c. and the jury found for the defendant, and yet in the charter party the merchants bound themſelves, their executors &c. and goods, as the owners had bound their ſhip &c. to the merchants. This buſineſs cauſed much trouble and charge to the country, and made ſome difference between the merchants of Charleſtown (who took part with the merchants and maſter of the ſhip) and the merchants of Boſton, who aſſiſted the lady (ſome of them being deeply engaged for La Tour) ſo as offers were made on both ſides for an end between them. Thoſe of Charleſtown offered ſecurity for the goods, if upon a review within 13 months the judgment were not reverſed, or the parliament in England did not call the cauſe before themſelves. This laſt clauſe was very ill taken by the court as making way for appeals &c. into England, which was not reſerved in our charter. The other offered them all the goods ſave £150 to defray the lady's expences in town, and ſecurity for that, if the judgment was reverſed, ſo as the other would not give ſecurity to anſwer the whole £2.000 if the judgment were not reverſed &c. The parties not agreeing, the lady took the goods and hired three ſhips which lay in the harbour, belonging to ſtrangers, which coſt her near £800, and ſet ſail for her fort: and the merchants againſt whom ſhe had execution for their bodies for ſatisfaction of the reſt of the judgment gat into their ſhip and fell down beyond the caſtle, (where they were out of command)

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Page 69, line 8th from bot. for *Calcourt*, read *Calvert*.
Page 76, line 22, for *furniſh*, read *puniſh*.
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